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THE
GENUINE ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE and TRIAL
OF
EUGENE ARAM,
For the MURDER of
DANIEL CLARK,
Late of KNARESBROUGH in the County of YORK.

Who was convicted at York Assizes, *August 3, 1759*, before the Honourable WILLIAM NOEL, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Court of Common Pleas.

To which, after a short Narration of the Fact, is prefixed,

An Account of the remarkable Discovery of the Human Skeleton at *Tbistle-Hill*: A Detail of all the Judicial Proceedings from the Time of the Bones being found, to the Commitment of *Richard Houseman, Eugene Aram, and Henry Terry* to *York Castle*: The Depositions of *Anna Aram, Philip Coates, John Yates, &c.* The Examination and Confession of *Richard Houseman*: The Apprehending of *Eugene Aram*, at *Lynn*, in *Norfolk*: With his Examination and Commitment.

To which are added,

The remarkable DEFENCE he made on his Trial: His own Account of himself, written after his Condemnation: With the APOLOGY, which he left in his Cell, for the attempt he made on his own Life: and his Plan for a Lexicon, some Pieces of Poetry, &c.

All taken immediately from the Original Depositions, Papers, and the Manuscripts of E. ARAM;

L O N D O N:

Published and sold by W. BRISTOW, at his Lottery-Office, in *Cheapside*; and all Booksellers in Town and Country.



A Full and Genuine

A C C O U N T

OF THE

MURDER of DANIEL CLARK, of
Knareſbrough, with the LIFE, &c. of
EUGENE ARAM.

IF we conſider the whole hiſtory of DIVINE PROVIDENCE in this world, we ſhall find ſin and puniſhment interwoven in the ſame piece. If ſin appears upon the ſtage, puniſhment waits behind the curtain. Yet, for certain wiſe ends, Almighty God often forbears the puniſhment of ſinners in this life: notwithſtanding, ſhould he ſuffer them all to go in peace to their graves, and to paſs out of this life with impunity, it might ſtagger men's belief of his particular Providence, and make them ready to ſay with the wicked in *Pſalm xciv. The Lord ſeeth not, neither doth the God of Jacob regard.*

Of all the crimes man is capable of committing, as there is none ſo offensive to Omnipotence as murder, ſo the Almighty ſeems to be more particularly intent to expoſe this heinous

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nous offence to mankind. By what extraordinary means murderers are frequently brought to light, is no more the business of this treatise, than as it may concern the following remarkable discovery of the murder of Daniel Clark.

Daniel Clark was born in Knaresbrough, of reputable parents, where he lived, and followed the business of a shoemaker. We shall pass over those things in his life which have no regard to the affair we treat of; and content ourselves with observing, That, in or about the month of January, 1744-5, he married a wife, with a fortune of 200*l.* or upwards; and being then in very good credit in Knaresbrough, it is presumed a scheme was laid by Eugene Aram, then a school-master in that town, and Richard Houseman, a Flax-Dresser, to defraud several persons of great quantities of goods and plate, and that Clark should be the man to carry these schemes into execution; for, as he then lived in very good credit, and was lately married, he was the properest person for the intended purpose: accordingly Clark, for some few days, went to several persons in and about Knaresbrough, and took up great quantities of linnen and woollen-drapery goods, under pretence, that, as he was lately married, he wanted not only clothes to appear in on the occasion, but also table and bed-linnen; in which he succeeded so well, that he got goods of that kind to a considerable amount. After this he went to several inn-keepers, and others, desiring to borrow a silver tankard of one, a pint of another, and the like, alledging that he was to have company that night, and should be glad of the use of

of them at supper; and in order to give a colour to this his story, he got of the inn-keepers (of whom he so borrowed the plate) ale, and other sorts of liquors*: this was on the 7th of February, 1744 5.

Some suspicious circumstances appearing that night and the following morning, caused a rumour in the town, that Clark was gone off; and, upon enquiry, it could not be learnt what was become of him. Search was immediately made for the goods and plate he had got, when some part of the goods were found at Houseman's; and another part thereof, as some velvets, &c. was dug up in Aram's Garden; but, as no plate was found, it was then concluded Clark was gone off with that: upon which the strictest enquiry was made after him, by sending people out into several parts, and advertising him in the public papers, &c. but all to no purpose.

From the above circumstances Aram was suspected of being an accomplice with Clark; upon which a process was granted, from the steward of the honour of Knaresbrough, to arrest him for a debt due to one Mr. Norton, which was done with a view to detain Aram until such time as a warrant could be had from a justice of peace to take him up for being concerned, along with Clark, in defrauding people of their plate, &c. Contrary to the expectation of every person in the town, (he being then esteemed

* Among other goods he got the following, viz. three silver tankards; four silver pints; one silver milk-pot; one ring, set with an emerald and two brilliant diamonds; another with three rose diamonds; a third with an amethyst in the shape of a hart, and six plain rings; eight watches; two snuff-boxes; Chambers's Dictionary, 2 vol. fol. Pope's Homer, 6 vol. bound.

very poor) paid what he was arrested for, and produced a large sum of money; and in a few days paid off a considerable mortgage upon his house in Bondgate, near Ripon. Soon after his releasement he left the town of Knaresbrough, and was not heard of with any certainty until the month of June, 1758, when he was found to be at Lynn, in Norfolk.

Aram's departure from Knaresbrough seems to have put a stop to any further examination into this affair; for nothing was effectually discovered touching Clark's being murdered, until the 1st of August, 1758, (which was upwards of thirteen years from the time of Clark's being missing) when it happened that a labourer, employed in digging for stone to supply a lime-kiln, at a place called Thistle-Hill, near Knaresbrough, having, at the edge of the cliff, dug about half a yard and half a quarter deep, found an arm-bone, and the small bone of the leg of an human skeleton. In digging forward, he discovered all the rest of the bones belonging to the body, which, by the position of it, seem'd to have been put in double, as the bones were all entire. This remarkable accident being rumoured in the town of Knaresbrough, gave reason for a suspicion that Daniel Clark had been murdered, and buried there; and the rather, as there had no other been missing thereabouts, to any one's knowledge, for sixty years and upwards. The strangeness of the event excited people's curiosity to enquire strictly into it: upon which the coroner was sent for, and an inquisition taken thereon. The wife of Eugene Aram, who had before frequently given hints of her suspicion

suspicion that Daniel Clark was murdered, was now examined, by the coroner and the jury, as to what she knew concerning Clark. She said, “ Daniel Clark was an intimate acquaintance of “ her husband’s; and that they had frequent “ transactions together before the 8th of February, 1744-5, and that Richard Houseman “ was often with them: particularly, that, on “ the 7th of February, 1744 5, about six o’clock “ in the evening, Aram came home when she “ was washing in the kitchen; upon which he “ directed her to put out the fire and make one “ above stairs: she accordingly did so. About “ two o’clock in the morning, on the 8th of “ February, Aram, Clark, and Houseman came “ to Aram’s house, and went up stairs to the “ room where she was: they staid about an “ hour. Her husband asked her for a handkerchief for Dickey (meaning Richard Houseman) to tye about his head: she accordingly “ lent him one. Then Clark said, *It will soon “ be morning, and we must get off.* After which, “ Aram, Houseman, and Clark, all went out “ together: that, upon Clark’s going out, she “ observed him take a sack or wallet upon “ his back, which he carried along with him: “ whither they went she could not tell. That, “ about five o’clock the same morning, her “ husband and Houseman returned, and Clark “ did not come with them. Her husband came “ up stairs, and desired to have a candle, that “ he might make a fire below. To which she “ objected, and said, *There was no occasion for “ two fires, as there was a good one in the room “ above, where she then was.* To which Aram, “ her husband, answered, *Dickey* (meaning “ Richard

“ Richard Houseman) *was below, and did not chuse*
 “ *to come up stairs: upon which she asked,*
 “ (Clark not returning with them) *What they*
 “ *had done with Daniel?* To this her husband
 “ gave no answer; but desired her to go to
 “ bed; which she refused; and told him, *They*
 “ *had been doing something bad.* Then Aram
 “ went down with the candle. She being de-
 “ sirous to know what her husband and House-
 “ man were doing; and, being about to go
 “ down stairs, she heard Houseman say to Aram,
 “ *She is coming.* Her husband replied, *We'll not*
 “ *let her.* Houseman then said, *If she does,*
 “ *she'll tell. What can she tell?* replies Aram,
 “ *Poor simple thing! she knows nothing.* To
 “ which Houseman said, *If she tells that I am here,*
 “ *'twill be enough.* Her husband then said, *I*
 “ *will hold the door, to prevent her from coming.*
 “ Whereupon Houseman said, *Something must be*
 “ *done, to prevent her telling,* and pressed him to
 “ it very much; and said, *If she does not tell*
 “ *now, she may at some other time.* No, said her
 “ husband, *We will coax her a little until her*
 “ *passion be off, and then take an opportunity to*
 “ *shoot her: upon which Houseman seemed sa-*
 “ *tisfied, and said, What must be done with her*
 “ *clothes?* Whereupon they both agreed, that
 “ they would let her lie where she was shot, in
 “ her clothes. She hearing this discourse, was
 “ much terrified, but remained quiet, until near
 “ seven o'clock in the same morning, when
 “ Aram and Houseman went out of the house.
 “ Upon which Mrs. Aram coming down stairs,
 “ and seeing there had been a fire below,
 “ and all the ashes taken from out of the grate,
 “ she went and examined the dunghill; and
 “ perceiving

“ perceiving ashes of a different kind to lie
 “ upon it, she searched amongst them, and
 “ found several pieces of linen and woollen
 “ cloth, very near burnt, which had the ap-
 “ pearance of belonging to wearing-apparel.
 “ When she returned into the house from the
 “ dunghill, she found the handkerchief she had
 “ lent Houseman the night before ; and looking
 “ at it, she found some blood upon it, about the
 “ size of a shilling ; upon which she immediately
 “ went to Houseman, and shewed him the pieces
 “ of cloth she had found ; and said, *She was a-*
 “ *fraid they had done something bad to Clark.* But he
 “ (Houseman) then pretended he was a stranger
 “ to her accusation, and said, *He knew nothing*
 “ *what she meant.* From the above circum-
 “ stances she believes Daniel Clark to have been
 “ murdered by Richard Houseman and Eugene
 “ Aram, on the 8th of February, 1744-5.”

Mr. Philip Coates of Knarelsbrough, brother-
 in-law to Daniel Clark, was then examined by
 the coroner ; who said, “ He knew Daniel Clark
 “ from a child ; and that he was with him on
 “ the 7th of February, 1744-5, about nine
 “ o’clock at night, and that Clark promised to
 “ call upon him in the morning : but he not
 “ calling, he went to Clark’s house, about nine
 “ o’clock in the morning. After enquiring
 “ for him there, Clark’s maid told him he was
 “ gone to Newall to his wife. On the 10th of
 “ February Mr. Coates went to Newall to seek
 “ Clark, but could not hear of him, nor ever
 “ did, though he had been advertised for some
 “ time. That a week or ten days before Clark
 “ was missing, he received a large sum of mo-
 “ ney ;

“ney; and that no money remained at his house after he was missing.”

Several other witnesses were examined by the coroner, affirming Eugene Aram and Richard Houseman to be the last persons seen with Clark, especially on the night of the 7th of February, 1744-5, being the night before Clark was missing, and other particular circumstances, which, to avoid repetition, will be shewn at large when we come upon the trial. We shall only add that of Mr. John Yeates, a barber, in Knaresbrough, who said, “He knew Daniel Clark, and the last time he saw him, was then about thirteen or fourteen years ago, and that he had been missing ever since. Some time after which, as he, Mr. Yeates, was going over Thistle-Hill, near the rock, he observed a place to be fresh dug and oblong; he presumed it might contain a boy of about twelve years of age; that he had seen the place where the bones of a deceased man were found, and said it was the same he saw so fresh dug up.”

Barbara Leetham, of Knaresbrough, widow, gave in the same kind of evidence.

Mr. Higgins and Mr. Locock, of Knaresbrough, surgeons, upon breaking a thigh-bone of the skeleton, and viewing it, gave it as their opinion that the body might have lain in the ground about thirteen or fourteen years.

These testimonies were given before the inquest in the manner related, and Houseman, by the coroner's order, being present, it was observed that he seemed very uneasy; discovering all the signs of guilt, such as trembling, turning pale, and faltering in his speech: this, with the strong circumstances given by Mrs. Aram, &c. gave

gave a suspicion that he must have been concerned in the murder of Clark, though he gave no account of the matter, and denied that he knew any thing concerning the murder.

Few men guilty of so heinous a crime as murder can conceal it. By some circumstance or other, the truth will break forth, and their own unfaithful tongues will betray them.

Upon the skeleton's being produced, Houseman, at the coroner's request, took up one of the bones; and, in his confusion, dropt this unguarded expression, *This is no more Dan Clark's bone, than it is mine.* From which it was concluded, that if Houseman was so certain that the bones before him were not Dan Clark's, he could give some account of him; and being told so, he answered, "That he could produce a witness who had seen Daniel Clark upon the road two or three days after he was missing at Knaref-brough." Accordingly the witness (one Parkinson) was sent for; who, on being asked the question, told the coroner and the jury "That he himself had never seen Daniel Clark after that time, viz. the 8th of Feb. 1744-5; that a friend of his (Parkinson's) told him he had met a person like Daniel Clark; but, as it was a snowy day, and the person had the cape of his great coat up, he could not say, with the least degree of certainty, who he was."

This, so far from being satisfactory, increased the suspicion, that Houseman was either the murderer of Clark, or an accomplice in the murder: whereupon the constable applied to William Thornton, esq; who, being informed from the coroner of the depositions taken, granted them a warrant to apprehend Houseman, and bring

him before him. He was accordingly brought and examined: here he says, " He was in company with Daniel Clark the night before he went off, which he believes might be on a Thursday, in February 1744-5; that the reason of his being then with him was, upon account of some money (*viz.* 20*l.*) that he had lent Clark, which he wanted to get again of him, and for which he then gave him some goods that took up a considerable time in carrying from Daniel Clark's house to his, *viz.* from eleven, the hour at which he went to Clark, till some time the next morning: that the goods he took were leather and some linen-cloth, which, as soon as he had possessed himself of, and also of a note of the prices he was to sell them at, he left Clark in Aram's house with Aram and another man, unknown to this examinant: who further saith, that Aram and Clark, immediately after, followed him out of Aram's house, and went into the market-place with the other unknown person, which the light of the moon enabled him to see; that he does not know what became of them after: and utterly disavows that he came back to Aram's house that morning with Aram and without Clark, as is asserted by Mrs. Aram; nor was he with Aram but with Clark at Aram's house that night, whether he went to seek him, in order to obtain from him the note as above; that when he had lodged the goods he got at Clark's house safely in his own, he went to seek Clark, found him at Aram's with the unknown person; and after having procured the note, which was his errand, came away directly, as was before

“ before related. He further saith, that he
 “ did not see Clark take any wallet, plate, or
 “ things of value along with him when they
 “ came out of the house the last time, which
 “ was early in the morning. But admits, that,
 “ some time after Clark was missing, Anna A-
 “ ram came to him in a passion, and demanded
 “ money of him, and said he had money of her
 “ husband’s in his hands, and pretended to
 “ shew him some shreds of cloth, and asked,
 “ If he knew what they were? To which he
 “ answered, That he did not know. And en-
 “ tirely denies that he ever has been charged
 “ with the murder of Daniel Clark, till now by
 “ Anna Aram.”

Being asked, If he chose to sign this exami-
 nation? He said, “ He chose to wave it for the
 “ present; for he might have something to add,
 “ and therefore desired to have time to consider
 “ of it.”

As he chose not to sign this examination, it
 was presumed that he was conscious he had not
 declared the truth of the matter, and Mr. Thorn-
 ton thought proper to commit him to York-
 Castle the morning following. At Green-Ham-
 merton, in the road to York, he behaved to
 his conductors in such a manner as to shew that
 he was concerned in the murder, or knew of it,
 and that he was desirous of making a more
 ample confession on their arrival at York. Be-
 ing come to the Minster in Micklegate, they
 were acquainted that Mr. Thornton was then
 passing by; Houseman desired he might be called
 into the house, and in his presence made the fol-
 lowing confession:

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“ That

" That Daniel Clark was murdered by Eugene
 " Aram, late of Knaresbrough, a school-master,
 " and, as he believes, on Friday the 8th of Fe-
 " bruary, 1744-5; for that Eugene Aram and
 " Dan. Clark were together at Aram's house early
 " that morning, and that he (Houseman) left the
 " house, and went up the street a little before,
 " and they called to him, desiring he would go
 " a short way with them, and he accordingly
 " went along with them to a place called St. Ro-
 " bert's Cave, near Grimble-Bridge, where Aram
 " and Clark stopped, and there he saw Aram
 " strike him several times over the breast and
 " head, and saw him fall as if he was dead, up-
 " on which he came away and left them: but
 " whether Aram used any weapon or not to kill
 " Clark he could not tell; nor does he know
 " what he did with the body afterwards, but be-
 " lieves that Aram left it at the mouth of the
 " cave; for that, seeing Aram do this, lest he
 " might share the same fate, he made the best
 " of his way from him, and got to the bridge-
 " end; where, looking back, he saw Aram
 " coming from the cave-side (which is in a pri-
 " vate rock adjoining the river) and could
 " discern a bundle in his hand, but did not
 " know what it was; upon this he hastened away
 " to the town, without either joining Aram, or
 " seeing him again till the next day, and from
 " that time to this he never had any private
 " discourse with him. Afterwards, however,
 " Houseman said that Clark's body was buried in
 " St. Robert's cave, and that he was sure it was
 " then there; but desired it might remain till
 " such time as Aram should be taken. He added
 " further, that Clark's head lay to the right,
 " in

“ in the turn at the entrance of the cave.” These words Houselman repeated the day after to Mr. Barker.*

On Houselman's commitment to the castle, proper persons were appointed to examine St. Robert's Cave; where, agreeable to his confession, was found the skeleton of a human body, the head lying as he before had said; upon which an inquisition was taken by the coroner.

Houselman having thus declared that Clark was murdered by Aram, who, upon enquiry, was found to be at Lynn, in Norfolk, Mr. Thornton issued his warrant to apprehend him, and directed Mr. John Barker and Mr. Francis Moor, the constables of Knaresbrough, to Sir John Turner, a justice of peace in Lynn. On their arrival there they waited on this gentleman, who indorsed the warrant; and Aram was apprehended in a School where he was usher, and conducted to Yorkshire. Being brought before Mr. Thornton, and examined, he confessed, “ That he was well acquainted with Daniel Clark; and, to the best of his remembrance, it was about, or before, the 8th of February, 1744-5; but utterly denied he had any connection with him in those frauds which Clark stood charged with at or before the time of his disappearance, which might be about the 10th of February, 1744-5, when he (Aram) was arrested, by process, for a debt: that, during the time of his being in custody, he first heard that Clark was missing: that, after his release, he was apprehended by a war-

* This confession Mr. Thornton gave to Houselman to read over; and, after he had so done, Mr. Thornton asked him if he chose to sign it; to which he consented; replying, That it was the truth, and the real truth. Upon which he was committed to the castle.

“ a warrant from a justice of peace for a misde-
 “ meanour ; but, appearing before the justice,
 “ and the charge not being made out against him,
 “ he was dismissed : after this he continued at
 “ Knaresbrough a considerable time, without any
 “ kind of molestation ; and then removed to
 “ Nottingham, to spend a few days with some
 “ relations ; from whence he went to London.
 “ There he resided publickly ’till he came down
 “ to Lynn, which was about seven months before
 “ he was arrested by warrant, on suspicion of be-
 “ ing concerned in the murder of Daniel Clark.
 “ He admits that he might be with Clark in Fe-
 “ bruary, 1744-5 ; but does not recollect that
 “ he was at Mr. Carter’s, who keeps a public
 “ house in Knaresbrough, with a Jew, Richard
 “ Houseman, a flaxdresser, and Daniel Clark,
 “ about twelve o’clock at night, on the 7th of
 “ February, 1744-5 ; nor does he recollect that
 “ he was in company with Clark and House-
 “ man, after two o’clock in the morning, at any
 “ particular time or place, in February, 1744-5 ;
 “ nor at or after three o’clock in the morning ;
 “ nor at Grimble Bridge ; nor at, or near, a
 “ place called St. Robert’s Cave, on the 8th of
 “ February, 1744-5, in the morning ; nor does
 “ he know any thing of Clark’s being murder-
 “ ed ; nor does he recollect that he was with
 “ Clark and Houseman, when Clark called
 “ upon William Tuton on the 8th of February,
 “ 1744-5, in the morning ; nor does he remem-
 “ ber any thing of a mason’s tool being found
 “ in his own house, when he was arrested by a
 “ warrant, in 1744-5 ; nor does he remember
 “ meeting Mr. Barnett, or seeing him in com-
 “ pany with the abovesaid Persons, the 8th of
 “ Fe-

“ February, 1744-5, in the morning; nor does
 “ he remember that he came home that morn-
 “ ing at five o’clock, with Houseman, and made
 “ a fire for them in his own house, which is af-
 “ firmed by his wife; nor does he remember
 “ that he had so great a sum of money as fifty
 “ guineas about that time, or pull’d any such
 “ sum out of his pocket; nor did he seek to
 “ suborn or ask any one person to say that he had
 “ seen Clark since the 8th of February, 1744-5,
 “ who really had not seen him; but true it was
 “ that he has often made enquiry about him,
 “ and he thinks he hath heard some persons say
 “ they have seen him since, and particularly his
 “ brother Stephen Aram; but does not recollect
 “ any other person, except another brother of
 “ his, Henry Aram, who has said that he saw
 “ him; nor does he know where it was those
 “ brothers say they saw him.” The declaration
 of other circumstances, and the signing this ex-
 mination, he chose to wave, that he might have
 time to recollect himself better, and lest any
 thing should be omitted, which might hereafter
 occur to him.

Though, in this examination, he denies the
 murder that was charged upon him by House-
 man in his confession; yet, notwithstanding,
 Mr. Thornton thought proper to commit him;
 and thereupon made out his commitment. In
 obedience to which, Barker and Moor were about
 to convey him to York Castle, and had taken him
 a mile from Mr. Thornton’s house, when Aram
 desired to return back to Mr. Thornton, having,
 as he alledged, something of consequence to im-
 part to him: accordingly they returned to Mr.
 Thornton’s; where Aram, upon being a second
 time

time examined, said, " That he was at his own
 " house the 7th of February 1744-5, at night,
 " when Richard Houseman and Daniel Clark
 " came to him with some plate, and both of
 " them went for more several times, and came
 " back with several pieces of plate, of which
 " Clark was endeavouring to defraud his neigh-
 " bours: that he could not but observe, that
 " Houseman was all that night very diligent to
 " assist him, to the utmost of his power; and in-
 " sisted, that this was Houseman's business that
 " night, and not the signing any note or instru-
 " ment, as is pretended by Houseman. That
 " Henry Terry, then of Knaresbrough, ale-
 " keeper, was as much concerned in abetting the
 " said frauds, as either Houseman or Clark; but
 " was not now at Aram's house, because, as it
 " was market-day, his absence from his guests
 " might have occasioned some suspicion: that
 " Terry, notwithstanding, brought two silver
 " tankards that night, upon Clark's account,
 " which had been fraudulently obtained: and
 " that Clark, so far from having borrowed 20 l.
 " of Houseman, to his knowledge never bor-
 " rowed more than 9 l. which he had paid him
 " again before that night.

" That all the leather Clark had, which amount-
 " ed to a considerable value, he well knows, was
 " concealed under flax in Houseman's house, with
 " intent to be disposed of by little and little, in
 " order to prevent suspicion of his being concern-
 " ed in Clark's fraudulent practices.

" That Terry took the plate in a bag, as
 " Clark and Houseman did the watches, rings,
 " and several small things of value, and car-
 " ried them into the flat, where they and he

" (Aram)

“ (Aram) went together to St. Robert’s Cave;
 “ and beat most of the plate flat: It was then
 “ thought too late in the morning, being about
 “ four o’clock on the 8th of February, 1744-5,
 “ for Clark to go off so as to get to any distance,
 “ it was therefore agreed he should stay there
 “ till the night following, and Clark according-
 “ ly staid there all that day, as he believes, they
 “ having agreed to send him victuals, which
 “ were carried to him by Henry Terry, he be-
 “ ing judged the most likely person to do it with-
 “ out suspicion, for as he was a shooter he might
 “ go thither under the pretence of sporting:
 “ that the next night, in order to give Clark
 “ more time to get off, Henry Terry, Richard
 “ Houseman, and himself, went down to the
 “ cave very early; but he (Aram) did not go
 “ into the Cave, or see Clark at all; that Richard
 “ Houseman and Henry Terry only went into
 “ the Cave, he staying to watch, at a little dis-
 “ tance on the outside, lest any body should sur-
 “ prize them.

“ That he believes they were beating some
 “ plate, for he heard them make a noise; they
 “ staid there about an hour, and then came out
 “ of the cave, and told him, that Clark was
 “ gone off. Observing a bag they had along
 “ with them, he took it in his hand, and saw
 “ that it contain’d plate. On asking, Why Da-
 “ niel did not take the plate along with him?
 “ Terry and Houseman replied, That they had
 “ bought it of him, as well as the watches, and
 “ had given him money for it, that being more
 “ convenient for him to go off with, as less cum-
 “ bersome and dangerous. After which they all
 “ three went into Houseman’s ware-house, and

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“ con.

“ concealed the watches with the small plate
 “ there, but that Terry carried away with him
 “ the great plate: that afterwards Terry told
 “ him he carried it to How-Hill, and hid it there,
 “ and then went into Scotland, and dispos’d of
 “ it: but as to Clark, he could not tell whether
 “ he was murdered or not; he knew nothing of
 “ him, only that they told him he was gone off.”

After he had signed this second confession he was conducted to York-Castle, where he and Houseman remained till the assizes.

From the above examination of Aram there appeared great reason to suspect Terry to be an accomplice in this black affair; a warrant was therefore granted, and he likewise was apprehended and committed to the castle. Bills of indictment were found against them: but it appearing to the court upon affidavit, that the prosecutor could not be fully provided with his Witnesses at that time, the trial was postponed till Lammass assizes.

On the 3d of August, 1759, Richard Houseman and Eugene Aram were brought to the Bar. Houseman was arraigned on his former indictment, acquitted, and admitted evidence against Aram, who was thereupon arraigned. Houseman was then called upon, who deposed, “ That, in the night between the 7th and 8th of February, 1744-5, about eleven o’clock, he went to Aram’s house: that, after two hours, and upwards, spent in passing to and fro between their several houses, to dispose of various goods, and to settle some notes concerning them, Aram proposed, first to Clark, and then to Houseman, to take a walk out of town: that when they
 came

came to the field where St. Robert's Cave is, Aram and Clark went into it over the hedge, and when they came within six or eight yards of the cave, he saw them quarrelling: that he saw Aram strike Clark several times, upon which Clark fell, and he never saw him rise again: that he saw no instrument that Aram had, and knew not that he had any: that upon this, without any interposition or alarm, he left them, and returned home: that the next morning he went to Aram's house, and asked what business he had with Clark last night, and what he had done with him? Aram replied not to this question; but threatened him, if he spoke of his being in Clark's company that night; vowing revenge, either by himself or some other person, if he mentioned any thing relating to the Affair."

Peter Moor (Clark's Servant) deposed, "That, a little time before his disappearing, Clark went to receive his wife's fortune: that, upon his return, he went to Aram's house, where this witness then was: upon Clark's coming in, Aram said, *How do you Mr. Clark? I'm glad to see you at home again, pray what success?* To which Clark replied, *I have receiv'd my wife's fortune, and have it in my pocket, though it was with difficulty I got it.* Upon which Aram said to Clark, (Houseman being present) *Let us go up stairs:* accordingly they went; upon which this witness returned home."

Mr. Beckwith deposed, "That when Aram's garden was searched, on suspicion of his being an accomplice in the frauds of Clark, there were found buried there several kinds of goods, bound together in a coarse wrapper; and, a-

among the rest, in particular, a piece of cambric, which he himself had sold Clark a very little time before."

Thomas Barnet deposed, "That, on the 8th of February, about one in the morning, he saw a Person come out from Aram's house, who had a wide coat on, with the cape about his head, and seemed to shun him; whereupon he went up to him, and put by the cape of his great coat; and, perceiving it to be Richard Houseman, wished him a good night, alias a good morning.

John Barker the constable, who executed the warrant granted by Mr. Thornton, and indorsed by Sir John Turner, deposed, "That, at Lynn, Sir John Turner, and some others, first went into the school where Aram was, the witness waiting at the door. Sir John asked him, If he knew Knaresbrough? He replied, *No.* And being further asked, *If he had any acquaintance with one Daniel Clark?* He denied, *That he ever knew such a man.* The witness then entered the school, and said, *How do you do, Mr. Aram?* Aram replied, *How do you do, Sir? I don't know you.* *What!* said the witness, *Don't you know me? Do'nt you remember that Daniel Clark and you always had a spite against me when you lived at Knaresbrough?* upon this he recollected the witness, and own'd his residence at Knaresbrough. The witness then asked him, *If he did not know St. Robert's Cave?* He answer'd, *Yes.* The Witness replied, *Aye, to your sorrow.* That, upon their journey to York, Aram enquired after his old Neighbours, and what they said of him. To which the witness replied, That they were much enraged against him for the loss of their Goods: That upon
Aram's

Aram's asking, if it was not possible to make up the matter? The witness answered, He believed he might save himself, if he would restore to them what they had lost. Aram answered, That was impossible; but he might, perhaps, find them an equivalent. Aram was then asked by the judge, If he had any thing to say to the witness before him? He replied, " That, to the best of his knowledge, it was not in the school, but in the room adjoining to the school, where Sir John Turner and the witness were, when he first saw them.

The skull was then produced in court, on the left side of which there was a fracture, that from the nature of it could not have been made but by the stroke of some blunt instrument; the piece was beaten inwards, and could not be replaced but from within. Mr. Locock, the surgeon, who produced it, gave it as his opinion, That no such breach could proceed from any natural decay; that it was not a recent fracture by the instrument with which it was dug up, but seemed to be of many years standing.

After these several depositions, Aram was ask'd what he had to urge in his behalf, and begg'd that he might be indulg'd in reading his defence.

The following is a faithful copy of it, printed from his own original, and retaining even it's accidental grammatical inaccuracies.

My Lord,

I Know not whether it is of right, or through some indulgence of your lordship, that I am allowed the liberty at this bar, and at this time,
to

to attempt a defence ; incapable, and uninstructed, as I am to speak. Since, while I see so many eyes upon me, so numerous and awful a concourse, fixed with attention, and filled with I know not what expectancy, I labour, not with guilt, my lord, but with perplexity. For having never seen a court but this, being wholly unacquainted with law, the customs of the bar, and all judiciary proceedings, I fear I shall be so little capable of speaking with propriety in this place, that it exceeds my hope, if I shall be able to speak at all.

I have heard, my lord, the indictment read, wherein I find myself charged with the highest crime ; with an enormity I am altogether incapable of ; a fact, to the commission of which there goes far more insensibility of heart, more profligacy of morals, than ever fell to my lot. And nothing possibly could have admitted a presumption of this nature, but a depravity, not inferior to that imputed to me. However, as I stand indicted at your lordship's bar, and have heard what is called evidence induced in support of such a charge, I very humbly solicit your lordship's patience, and beg the hearing of this respectable audience, while I, single and unskilful, destitute of friends, and unassisted by counsel, say something, perhaps, like argument, in my defence. I shall consume but little of your lordship's time ; what I have to say will be short, and this brevity, probably, will be the best part of it : however, it is offered with all possible regard, and the greatest submission to your lordship's consideration, and that of this honourable court.

First,

First, my lord, the whole tenor of my conduct in life contradicts every particular of this indictment. Yet I had never said this, did not my present circumstances extort it from me, and seem to make it necessary. Permit me here, my lord, to call upon malignity itself, so long and cruelly busied in this prosecution, to charge upon me any immorality, of which prejudice was not the author. No, my lord, I concerted not schemes of fraud, projected no violence, injured no man's person or property. My days were honestly laborious, my nights intensely studious. And, I humbly conceive, my notice of this, especially at this time, will not be thought impertinent, or unseasonable; but, at least, deserving some attention: because, my lord, that any person, after a temperate use of life, a series of thinking and acting regularly, and without one single deviation from sobriety, should plunge into the very depth of profligacy, precipitately and at once, is altogether improbable and unprecedented, and absolutely inconsistent with the course of things. Mankind is never corrupted at once; villainy is always progressive, and declines from right, step after step, till every regard of probity is lost, and every sense of all moral obligations totally perishes.

Again, my lord, a suspicion of this kind, which nothing but malevolence could entertain, and ignorance propagate, is violently opposed by my very situation at that time, with respect to health: For, but a little space before, I had been confined to my bed, and suffered under a very long and severe disorder, and was not able, for half a year together, so much as to walk. The distemper left me indeed, yet slowly and in part;
but

but so macerated, so enfeebled, that I was reduced to crutches ; and was so far from being well about the time I am charged with this fact, that I never to this day perfectly recovered. Could then a person in this condition take any thing into his head so unlikely, so extravagant ? I, past the vigour of my age, feeble and valedudinarian, with no inducement to engage, no ability to accomplish, no weapon wherewith to perpetrate such a fact ; without interest, without power, without motive, without means.

Besides, it must needs occur to every one, that an action of this atrocious nature is never heard of, but, when its springs are laid open, it appears that it was to support some indolence, or supply some luxury, to satisfy some avarice, or oblige some malice ; to prevent some real, or some imaginary want : Yet I lay not under the influence of any one of these. Surely, my lord, I may, consistent with both truth and modesty, affirm thus much ; and none who have any veracity, and knew me, will ever question this.

In the *second* place, the disappearance of Clark is suggested as an argument of his being dead : but the uncertainty of such an inference from that, and the fallibility of all conclusions of such a sort, from such a circumstance, are too obvious, and too notorious, to require instances : Yet, superseding many, permit me to produce a very recent one, and that afforded by this castle.

In June, 1757, William Thompson, for all the vigilance of this place, in open day-light, and doubled-ironed, made his escape ; and, notwithstanding an immediate enquiry set on foot, the strictest search, and all advertisement, was never

ver seen or heard of since. If then Thompson got off unseen, through all these difficulties, how very easy was it for Clark, when none of them opposed him? But what would be thought of a prosecution commenced against any one seen last with Thompson?

Permit me, *next*, my lord, to observe a little upon the bones which have been discovered. It is said, which perhaps is saying very far, that these are the skeleton of a man. It is possible indeed it may: but is there any certain known criterion, which incontestibly distinguishes the sex in human bones? Let it be considered, my lord, whether the ascertaining of this point ought not to precede any attempt to identify them.

The place of their depositum too claims much more attention than is commonly bestowed upon it: for, of all places in the world, none could have mentioned any one, wherein there was greater certainty of finding human bones, than a hermitage; except he should point out a church-yard: hermitages, in time past, being not only places of religious retirement, but of burial too. And it has scarce or never been heard of, but that every cell, now known, contains, or contained, these relicts of humanity; some mutilated, and some entire. I do not inform, but give me leave to remind, your lordship, that here sat solitary sanctity, and here the hermit, or the anchoress, hoped that repose for their bones, when dead, they here enjoyed when living.

All this while, my lord, I am sensible this is known to your lordship, and many in this court,
 E better

better than I. But it seems necessary to my case that others, who have not at all, perhaps, adverted to things of this nature, and may have concern in my trial, should be made acquainted with it. Suffer me then, my lord, to produce a few of many evidences, that these cells were used as repositories of the dead, and to enumerate a few, in which human bones have been found, as it happened in this in question; lest, to some, that accident might seem extraordinary, and, consequently, occasion prejudice.

1. The bones, as was supposed, of the Saxon, St. Dubritius, were discovered buried in his cell at Guy's cliff near Warwick, as appears from the authority of Sir William Dugdale.

2. The bones, thought to be those of the anchoress Rosia, were but lately discovered in a cell at Royston, entire, fair, and undecayed, though they must have lain interred for several centuries, as is proved by Dr. Stukely.

3. But our own country, nay, almost this neighbourhood, supplies another instance: for, in January, 1747, was found, by Mr. Stovin, accompanied by a reverend gentleman, the bones, in part, of some recluse, in the cell at Lindholm, near Hatfield. They were believed to be those of William of Lindholm, a hermit, who had long made this cave his habitation.

4. In February 1744, part of Woburn abbey being pulled down, a large portion of a corpse appeared, even with the flesh on, and which bore cutting with a knife; though it is certain this had laid above 200 years, and how much longer is doubtful; for this abbey was founded in 1145, and dissolved in 1538 or 9.

What

What would have been said, what believed, if this had been an accident to the bones in question ?

Farther, my lord, it is not yet out of living memory, that a little distance from Knaresbrough, in a field, part of the manor of the worthy and patriot baronet, who does that borough the honour to represent it in parliament, were found, in digging for gravel, not one human skeleton only, but five or six deposited side by side, with each an urn placed at its head, as your lordship knows was usual in antient interments.

About the same time, and in another field, almost close to this borough, was discovered also, in searching for gravel, another human skeleton ; but the piety of the same worthy gentleman ordered both the pits to be filled up again, commendably unwilling to disturb the dead.

Is the invention of these bones forgotten, then, or industriously concealed, that the discovery of those in question may appear the more singular and extraordinary ? Whereas, in fact, there is nothing extraordinary in it. My lord, almost every place conceals such remains. In fields, in hills, in highway sides, in commons, lie frequent and unsuspected bones. And our present allotments for rest for the departed, is but of some centuries.

Another particular seems not to claim a little of your lordship's notice, and that of the gentlemen of the jury ; which is, that perhaps no example occurs of more than *one* skeleton being found in *one* cell ; and in the cell in question was found but *one* ; agreeable, in this, to the peculiarity of every other known cell in Britain.

Not the invention of one skeleton, then, but of two, would have appeared suspicious and uncommon.

But then, my lord, to attempt to indentify these, when even to indentify living men sometimes has proved so difficult, as in the case of Perkin Warbeck and Lambert Symnel at home, and of Don Sebastian abroad, will be looked upon, perhaps as an attempt to determine what is indeterminable. And I hope too it will not pass unconsidered here, where gentlemen believe with caution, think with reason, and decide with humanity, what interest the endeavour to do this is calculated to serve, in assigning proper personality to those bones, whose particular appropriation can only appear to eternal omniscience.

Permit me, my lord, also, very humbly to remonstrate, that, as human bones appear to have been the inseparable adjuncts of every cell, even any person's naming such a place at random as containing them, in this case, shews him rather unfortunate, than conscious prescient, and that these attendants on every hermitage only accidentally concurred with this conjecture. A mere casual coincidence of *words* and *things*.

But it seems another skeleton has been discovered by some labourer, which was full as confidently averred to be Clark's as this. My lord, must some of the living, if it promotes some interest, be made answerable for all the bones that earth has concealed, and chance exposed? And might not a place where bones lay be mentioned by a person by chance, as well as found by a labourer by chance? Or, is it

it more criminal accidentally to *name* where bones lie, than accidentally to *find* where they lie?

Here too is a human skull produced, which is fractured; but was this the *cause*, or was it the consequence of death; was it owing to violence, or was it the effect of natural decay? If it was violence, was that violence before or after death? My lord, in May, 1732, the remains of William lord archbishop of this province were taken up, by permission, in this cathedral, and the bones of the skull were found broken; yet certainly he died by no violence offered to him alive, that could occasion that fracture there.

Let it be considered, my lord, that, upon the dissolution of religious houses, and the commencement of the reformation, the ravages of those times both affected the living and the dead. In search after imaginary treasures, coffins were broken up, graves and vaults dug open, monuments ransack'd, and shrines demolished; your lordship knows that these violations proceeded so far, as to occasion parliamentary authority to restrain them; and it did, about the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth. I entreat your lordship suffer not the violences, the depredations, and the iniquities of those times, to be imputed to this.

Moreover, what gentleman here is ignorant that Knaresbrough had a castle; which, tho' now a ruin, was once considerable both for its strength and garrison. All know it was vigorously besieged by the arms of the parliament: at which siege, in sallies, conflicts, flights, pursuits, many fell in all the places round it; and where they fell were buried; for every place, my lord, is burial earth in war; and many, questionless, of these

these rest yet unknown, whose bones futurity shall discover.

I hope, with all imaginable submission, that what has been said will not be thought impertinent to this indictment; and that it will be far from the wisdom, the learning, and the integrity of this place, to impute to the living what zeal in its fury may have done; what nature may have taken off, and piety interred; or what war alone may have destroyed, alone deposited.

As to the circumstances that have been rak'd together, I have nothing to observe; but that all circumstances whatsoever are precarious, and have been but too frequently found lamentably fallible; even the strongest have failed. They may rise to the utmost degree of probability; yet are they but probability still. Why need I name to your lordship the two Harrisons recorded in Dr. Howel, who both suffered upon circumstances, because of the sudden disappearance of their lodger, who was in credit, had contracted debts, borrowed money, and went off unseen, and returned again a great many years after their execution. Why name the intricate affair of Jaques du Moulin, under king Charles II. related by a gentleman who was council for the crown: and why the unhappy Coleman, who suffered innocent, tho' convicted upon positive evidence, and whose children perished for want, because the world uncharitably believed the father guilty. Why mention the perjury of Smith, incautiously admitted king's evidence; who, to screen himself, equally accused Fainloth and Loveday of the murder of Dunn; the first of whom, in 1749, was executed
at

at Winchester; and Loveday was about to suffer at Reading, had not Smith been proved perjured, to the satisfaction of the court, by the surgeon of the Gosport Hospital.

Now, my lord, having endeavoured to shew that the whole of this process is altogether repugnant to every part of my life; that it is inconsistent with my condition of health about that time; that no rational inference can be drawn, that a person is dead who suddenly disappears; that hermitages were the constant repositories of the bones of the recluse; that the proofs of this are well authenticated; that the revolutions in religion, or the fortune of war, has mangled, or buried, the dead; the conclusion remains, perhaps, no less reasonably than impatiently wished for. I, last, after a year's confinement, equal to either fortune, put myself upon the candor, the justice, and the humanity of your lordship, and upon yours, my countrymen, gentlemen of the jury.

At the request of the clergymen, who, by his own particular desire, attended him after his condemnation, Aram wrote the following short account of his family, and his life, some time in the interval between his sentence and the night that preceded his execution. So far as it is given to the public, it is given with the same scrupulous exactness with which his defence has been printed. It must, however, be declared, That as we suppress'd a part of his second confession, because it reflected on some characters that stand unimpeach'd, so we have also suppress'd a part of this performance, as being extremely

tremely injurious to the integrity and candor of the court.

— *Anima fugit indignata sub umbras.*

REVEREND SIR,

I Always believed any relation of my life of no manner of importance or service to the public, and I never either had any temptation or desire to appear in print. The publications ushered to the world, which I ever had little concern for, and have as little now, by persons in my situation, always appeared to me only calculated for the advantage of the press, and for the amusement of a very idle curiosity. But to oblige you, and not to forget my promise, I will recollect as many particulars as I can, upon so sudden a notice, and the small pittance of time which I have left me will allow.

I was born at Ramsgill, a little village in Nether-Dale, in 1704. My maternal relations had been substantial and reputable in that Dale, for a great many generations: my father was of Nottinghamshire, a gardener, of great abilities in botany, and an excellent draughtsman. He served the right reverend the bishop of London, Dr. Compton, with great approbation; which occasioned his being recommended to Newby, in this county, to Sir Edward Blackett, whom he served in the capacity of gardener, with much credit to himself, and satisfaction to that family, for above 30 years. Upon the decease of that baronet, he went and was retained in the service of Sir John Ingilby, of Ripley, bart. where he died; respected when living, and lamented when dead.

My

My father's ancestors were of great antiquity and consideration in this county, and originally British. Their surname is local; for they were formerly lords of the town of Haram, or Aram, on the southern banks of the Tees, and opposite to Sockburn, in Bishopric; and appear in the records of St. Mary's, at York, among many charitable names, early and considerable benefactors to that abbey. They, many centuries ago, removed from these parts, and were settled, under the fee of the lords Mowbray in Nottinghamshire, at Aram, or Aram-Park, in the neighbourhood of Newark upon Trent; where they were possessed of no less than three knights fees in the reign of Edward III. Their lands, I find not whether by purchase or marriage, came into the hands of the present lord Lexington. While the name existed in this county, some of them were several times high sheriffs for this county; and one was professor of divinity, if I remember right, at Oxford, and died at York. The last of the chief of this family, was Thomas Aram, Esq; sometime of Gray's-Inn, and one of the commissioners of the salt-office, under the late Queen Anne. He married one of the co-heiresses of Sir John Coningsby of North-Mims, in Hertfordshire. His seat, which was his own estate, was at the Wild, near Shenley, in Hertfordshire, where I saw him, and where he died, without issue.

Many more anecdotes are contained in my papers, which are not present; yet these perhaps may be thought more than enough, as they may be consider'd rather as ostentatious than pertinent: but the first was always far from me.

I was removed very young, along with my mother, to *Skelton*, near Newby; and thence, at five or six years old, my father making a little purchase in Bondgate, near Ripon, his family went thither. There I went to school; where I was made capable of reading the testament, which was all I was ever taught, except, a long time after, about a month, in a very advanced age for that, with the reverend Mr. Alcock of Burnfal.

After this, at about thirteen or fourteen years of age, I went to my father at Newby, and attended him in the family there, till the death of Sir Edward Blackett. It was here my propension to literature first appeared: for, being always of a solitary disposition, and uncommonly fond of retirement and books, I enjoyed here all the repose and opportunity I could wish. My study at that time was engag'd in the mathematics: I know not what my acquisitions were; but I am certain my application was at once intense and unwearied. I found in my father's library there, which contained a very great number of books in most branches, Kersey's Algebra, Leybourn's Cursus Mathematicus, Ward's Young Mathematicians Guide, Harris's Algebra, &c. and a great many more; but these being the books in which I was ever most conversant, I remember them the better. I was even then equal to the management of quadratic equations, and their geometrical constructions. After we left Newby, I repeated the same studies in *Bondgate*, and went over all parts I had studied before, I believe not unsuccessfully.

Being about the age of sixteen, I was sent for to London, being thought, upon examination by
Mr.

Mr. Christopher Blackett, qualified to serve him as book-keeper in his accompting-house. Here, after a year or two's continuance, I took the small-pox, and suffered severely under that distemper. My mother was so impatient to see me, that she was very near upon a journey to London; which I, by an invitation from my father, prevented, by going to her.

At home, with leisure upon my hands, and a new addition of authors to these brought me from Newby, I renewed not only my mathematical studies, but begun and prosecuted others, of a different turn, with much avidity and diligence: these were poetry, history, and antiquities; the charms of which quite destroyed all the heavier beauties of numbers in lines, whose applications and properties I now pursued no longer, except occasionally in teaching.

I was, after some time employed in this manner, invited into Netherdale, my native air, where I first engaged in a school; where I married, unfortunately enough for me: For the misconduct of the wife which that place afforded me, has procured me this place, this prosecution, this infamy and this sentence.

During my marriage here, perceiving the deficiencies in my education, and sensible of my want of the learned languages, and prompted by an irresistible covetousness of knowledge, I commenced a series of studies in that way, and undertook the tediousness, the intricacies, and the labour of grammar; I selected Lilly from the rest: all which I got and repeated by heart. The task of repeating it all every Day, was impossible while I attended the school; so I divided it into portions; by

which method it was pronounced thrice every week : and this I performed for years.

Next I became acquainted with Cambden's Greek grammar, which I also repeated in the same manner, *memoriter*. Thus instructed, I entered upon the Latin classics ; whose allurements repaid my assiduities and my labours. I remember to have, at first, hung over five lines for a whole day ; and never, in all the painful course of my reading, left any one passage, but I did, or thought I did, perfectly comprehend.

After I had accurately perused every one of the Latin classics, historians, and poets, I went through the Greek testament ; first, parsing every word as I proceeded : next, I ventured upon Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, Herodotus, Thucydides, and all the Greek tragedians : a tedious labour was this ; but my former acquaintance with history lessened it extremely ; because it threw a light upon many passages, which, without that assistance, must have appeared obscure.

In the midst of these literary pursuits, a man and horse, from my good friend William Norton, esq; came for me from Knaresbrough, along with that gentleman's letter, inviting me thither ; and accordingly I repaired thither in some part of the year 1734, and was, I believe, well accepted and esteemed there. Here, not satisfied with my former acquisitions, I prosecuted the attainment of the Hebrew ; and with indefatigable diligence. I had Buxtorff's grammar ; but that being perplexed, or not explicit enough, at least in my opinion at that time,

I collected no less than eight or ten different Hebrew grammars; and here one very often supplied the omissions of the others; and this was, I found, of extraordinary advantage. Then I bought the bible in the original, and read the whole Pentateuch, with an intention to go thro' the whole of it; which I attempted, but wanted time.

In April, I think the 18th, 1744, I went again to London. [The reasons shall follow.] Here I agreed to teach the Latin and writing, for the Rev. Mr. Painblanc, in Piccadilly; which he, along with a salary, returned, by teaching me French; wherein I observed the pronunciation the most formidable part, at least to me, who had never before known a word of it: But this my continued application every night, or other opportunity overcame, and I soon became a tolerable master of French. I remained in this situation two years and above.

Some time after this I went to Hays, in the capacity of writing-master, and served a gentlewoman there, since dead; and staid, after that, with a worthy and reverend gentleman. I continued here between three and four years.

I succeeded to several other places in the south of England, and all that while used every occasion of improvement. I then transcribed the acts of parliament to be registered in chancery; and after went down to the free-school at Lynn.

From my leaving Knaresbrough to this period is a long interval, which I had filled up with the farther study of history and antiquities, heraldry and botany; in the last of which I was
very

very agreeably entertained ; there being there so extensive a display of nature. I well knew Turneforte, Ray, Miller, Linnæus, &c. I made frequent visits to the botanic garden at Chelsea ; and traced pleasure thro' a thousand fields : at last, few plants, domestic or exotic, were unknown to me. Amidst all this I ventured upon the Chaldee and Arabic ; and, with a design to understand them, supplied myself with Erpenius, Chapelhow, and others : but I had not time to obtain any great knowledge of the Arabic ; the Chaldee I found easy enough, because of its connexion with the Hebrew.

I then investigated the Celtic, as far as possible, in all its dialects ; begun collections, and made comparisons between that, the English, the Latin, the Greek, and even the Hebrew. I had made notes, and compared above three thousand of these together, and found such a surprizing affinity, even beyond any expectation or conception, that I was determined to proceed thro' the whole of all these languages, and form a comparative lexicon ; which I hoped would account for numberless vocables in use with us, the Latins, and Greeks, before concealed and unobserved. This, or something like it, was the design of a clergyman of great erudition in Scotland ; but it must prove abortive, for he died before he executed it, and most of my books and papers are now scattered and lost.

Something is expected as to the affair upon which I was committed, to which I say, as I mentioned in my examination, that all the plate of Knaresbrough, except the watches and rings, were in Houseman's possession ; as for me,

I had nothing at all.* My wife knows that Terry had the large plate, and that Houseman himself took both that and the watches, at my house, from Clark's own hand; and if she will not give this in evidence for the town, she wrongs both that and her own conscience; and if it is not done soon, Houseman will prevent her. She likewise knows Terry's wife had some velvet; and, if she will, can testify it: she deserves not the regard of the town if she will not. That part of Houseman's evidence, wherein he said I threatened him, was absolutely false; for what hindered him, when I was so long absent and far distant? I must needs observe another thing to be perjury in Houseman's evidence, in which he said, he went home from Clark; whereas he went straight to my house, as my wife can also testify, if I be not believed.

EUGENE ARAM.

Aram's sentence was a just one, and he submitted to it with that stoicism he so much affected; and the morning after he was condemned, he confessed the justice of it to two clergymen, (who had a licence from the judge to attend him) by declaring that he murdered Clark. Being asked by one of them, What his motive was for doing that abominable action? he told them, "He suspected Clark of having an unlawful commerce with his wife; that he was persuaded, at the time when he committed the
" murder,

* It is generally believed, and upon good grounds, that Aram got all the money Clark had received for his wife's fortune, *viz.* above 160*l.* and there were strong circumstances to prove it; but, it was thought unnecessary, as there was sufficient proof against him without it.

“murder he did right; but since he has thought
“it wrong.”

After this, *Pray*, says Aram, *what became of Clark's body, if Houselman went home (as he said upon my trial) immediately on seeing him fall?* One of the clergymen replied, *I'll tell you what became of it, you and Houselman dragged it into the cave, stripp'd and buried it there; brought away his cloaths, and burnt them at your own house:* To which he assented. He was asked, Whether Houselman did not earnestly press him to murder his wife, for fear she should discover the business they had been about, he hastily replied, *He did, and pressed me several times to do it.*

This was the substance of what passed with Aram the Morning after he was condemned; and as he had promised to make a more ample confession on the day he was executed, it was generally believed every thing previous to the murder would have been disclosed; but he prevented any further discovery, by a horrid attempt upon his own life. When he was called from bed to have his irons taken off, he would not rise, alledging he was very weak. On examination his arm appeared bloody; proper assistance being called, it was found that he had attempted to take away his own life, by cutting his arm in two places with a razor, which he had concealed in the condemned hold some time before. By proper applications he was brought to himself, and, though weak, was conducted to Tyburn; where being asked if he had any thing to say, he answered, No. Immediately after he was executed, and his body conveyed to Knaresbrough-Forest, and hung in chains, pursuant to his sentence.

On

On his table, in the cell, was found the following paper, containing his reasons for the above-said wicked attempt.

WHAT am I better than my fathers? To die is natural and necessary. Perfectly sensible of this, I fear no more to die than I did to be born. But the manner of it is something which should, in my opinion, be decent and manly. I think I have regarded both these points. Certainly nobody has a better right to dispose of man's life than himself; and he, not others, should determine how. As for any indignities offered to my body, or silly reflections on my faith and morals, they are (as they always were) things indifferent to me. I think, tho' contrary to the common way of thinking, I wrong no man by this, and hope it is not offensive to that eternal being that form'd me and the world: and as by this I injure no man, no man can be reasonably offended. I solicitously recommend myself to the eternal and almighty Being, the God of Nature, if I have done amiss. But perhaps I have not; and I hope this thing will never be imputed to me. Though I am now stained by malevolence, and suffer by prejudice, I hope to rise fair and unblemished. My life was not polluted, my morals irreproachable, and my opinions orthodox.

I slept soundly till three o'clock, awak'd, and then writ these lines :

Come, pleasing rest, eternal slumber fall,
Seal mine, that once must seal the eyes of all ;
G Calm

Calm and compos'd my soul her journey takes,
 No guilt that troubles, and no heart that aches :
 Adieu ! thou sun, all-bright like her arise ;
 Adieu ! fair friends, and all that's good and wise.

These lines, found along with the foregoing, were supposed to be written by Aram just before he cut himself with the razor.

Notwithstanding he pleads a sovereign right over himself, in vindication of this last horrid crime, and appears, at first view, actuated by honour and courage ; yet a little reflection will convince any one, his motive for such an inhuman deed was nothing more than the fear of shame. His pride would not permit him to confess a crime he had once so strenuously denied ; and, guilty as he knew himself to have been, his obstinacy held out to his last moments. That he murdered Clark is beyond all doubt, as he himself voluntarily confessed it ; but the excuse he afterwards made for it is greatly to be suspected, it being at the expence of an innocent industrious poor woman, whom he has ever treated in an infamous inhuman manner.

MISCELLANIES:

CONSISTING OF

- I. An Essay towards a Lexicon upon an entire new Plan.
- II. Of the Origin and Antiquity of the
MELSUPPER, or shouting of the
CHURN.
- III. POEMS.
- IV. LETTERS.

Written by EUGENE ARAM,
while a Prisoner in *York-Castle*.

To Mr. BRISTOW. York, June

Good Sir,

2. 1759.

TO satisfy my promise and your request, I have transcribed part of the papers, and propose copying, and transmitting to you the remainder of them next week; or as early as I can. I am only able to employ half of my time in this, but wish I could dispose of all my time that way, either for your amusement or your service. I have no materials for my purpose by me; not so much as book, papers, or MS. of any kind; so that it is easy to conceive under what disadvantages I write. Memory is all I have to trust to; and that can never be capacious of all I want.

G 2

You

You were pleas'd to promise me some assistance in my affair; in hopes of which, I have subjoin'd the only question, I think, of any importance to me; and beg satisfaction in it, by what way you judge best.

I am SIR,

Under great obligations,

And with all possible respect,

Your most obedient,

And most humble Servant,

E. Aram.

2. Whether Houseman, who, after his being apprehended and in custody, and commitment upon a charge of murder; accused me of that fact, can possibly be admitted evidence for the King, against me, as, he says, his counsel tells him he may: the fact with which he impeaches me being fourteen years ago, and there being nothing against me but what he pretends to say? Whether is the power of admitting evidence for the King, invested in the Judge, or King's Counsel, or both?

A N

A N
E S S A Y
T O W A R D S
A L E X I C O N

Upon an entire new PLAN.

TO attempt the work of a Lexicon, and at a time too, when so many, and those so considerable, have already appeared, valuable for the excellence of their composition, and respectable for the authority of their authors, may possibly be looked upon as an unnecessary, if not altogether a supernumerary labour. How far such an opinion may be just, or premature, will be better elucidated by a very cursory perusal of, and a little deliberation upon the subsequent plan. And this, whatever appearances of novelty it may be attended with, however strongly the current of general opinion opposes it, is not so recent, not so foreign to the service of letters, as by some may be imagined.

Before I open the Plan I have to offer to the literati, and upon which the superstructure is intended to be built, it perhaps may not be improper to throw out a few preliminary reflections, which have occurred to me in the course of my
reading,

reading, a part of which are these that follow :

All our Lexicographers, a very few excepted, for aught I have adverted to, have been long employed, and have generally contented themselves too, within the limits of a very narrow field. They seem to have looked no farther than the facilitating for youth the attainment of the Latin and Greek languages, and almost universally consider the former, as only derived from the latter. These two single points seem to have confined their whole view, possessed their whole attention, and engrossed all their industry.

Here and there, indeed, and in a few pieces of this kind, one sees interspersed, derivations of the English from the Latin, Greek, &c. inferred from a conformity of orthography, sound, and signification, and these very true. But whence this relation, this consonancy arose, why it has continued from age to age to us, has floated on the stream of time so long, and passed to such a distance of place, how antient words have survived conquests, the migrations of people, and the several coalitions of nations, and colonies, notwithstanding the fluctuating condition of language in its own nature, they have neither observed with diligence, nor explained with accuracy.

Almost every etymologist that has fallen into my hands, and detained my eye, have not been mistaken then in the comparisons they have made, or the uniformity they have observed, between the Latin and the Greek, and between both those languages, and our own ; but then their instances have been but short and few, and they have failed in accounting for this uniformity ; they have

have indeed sufficiently evinced a similitude, but produced no reasons for it. It is not to be thought of, much less concluded, that the multitude of words among us, which are certainly Latin, Greek, and Phœnician, are all the reliques of the Roman settlements in Britain, or the effects of Greek or Phœnician commerce here; no, this resemblance was co-eval with the primary inhabitants of this island, and the accession of other colonies, did not obliterate, but confirm this resemblance, and also brought in an encrease, and accession of other words, from the same original, and consequently bearing the same conformity. How nearly related is the Cambrian, how nearly the Irish, in numberless instances, to the Latin, the Greek, and even Hebrew, and both possessed this consimilitude long ago, before J. Cæsar, and the Roman invasion. I know not, but the Latin more differed from itself in the succession of six continued Centuries, than the Welsh and Irish at this time from the Latin. Concerning this agreement of theirs with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, not to mention others, Gentlemen of great penetration, and extraordinary erudition; Dr. Davis may be consulted; and the learned Sheringham, who has exhibited a long and curious specimen of Greek and Cambrian words, so exactly correspondent in *sound* and *sense*, or at least so visibly near, that, as far as I know, no gentleman has ever yet question'd, much less disputed their alliance.

This similitude subsisting in common between the Irish, Cambrian, Greek, Latin and even Hebrew, as it has not escaped the notice, and animadversions of the learned, so their surprize has generally encreased with their researches, and con-

considerations about it: new circumstances of agreement perpetually arising. A great many gentlemen, conversant in antiquities, and pleased with literary amusements of this kind, have ascribed these palpable connexions to conquest, or to commerce: they have supposed, that the intercourse, which on the latter account, antiently subsisted between the Phœnicians, Greeks, and the Britons, (See Boch. Huet, &c.) occasioned this very remarkable community between their languages. Indeed this accident of commerce must needs have had its influence; but then this influence must have been but weak and partial; not prevalent and extensive. Commerce has, and always will make continual additions to any language, by the introduction of exotic words; yet would words of this kind and at that time, hardly extend a great way; they would only effect the maritime parts, and those places frequented by traders, and that but feebly, and would be very far from acting or making any considerable impression upon the whole body of any language.

But even supposing that a number of Greek vocables may have found admittance and adoption in Britain, and after this manner, yet could they never penetrate into the more interior parts of it, into recesses remote from the sea; strangers to all correspondence, without the temptation, without the inclination to leave their natural soil, their own hereditary village, yet is Greek even here; we find pure Greek in the Peak itself, whither foreigners, especially at the distance of more than twice ten centuries, can scarcely be supposed to have come. There could have been but few in-
vita-

itations to it then ; and perhaps there are not many now.

Since then I have taken notice of this almost community of language observable between the Greek, and the Celtic, in some dialect of it, or other, and have attempted to shew, it could scarcely be imported, in the manner so generally believed ; it seems incumbent upon me, to offer a more probable conjecture, if it is a conjecture, how it has arrived ; which is the subject of the following dissertation.

AFTER what has been produced as prefatory, it is now time, if it may not be thought it was so before, to exhibit the Plan I mentioned, not attempted in confidence of my own, but to excite superior abilities to think farther, and for the farther illustration and service of letters, and submitted with the greatest deference to the learned, and with the extremest diffidence of myself.

It is then this : that the antient Celtæ, by the numberless vestiges left behind them in Gaul, Britain, Greece, and all the western part of Europe, appear to have been, if not the Aborigines, at least their successors, and masters, in Gaul, Britain, and the west ; that their language, however obsolete, however mutilated, is at this day discernable in all those places, that victorious people conquer'd and retained ; that it has extended itself far and wide, visibly appearing in the antient English, Greek, Latin, &c. of all which it included a very considerable part, and indeed unquestionably in all the languages of Europe emerges, in the names of springs, torrents, rivers,
H woods,

woods, hills, plains, lakes, seas, mountains, towns, cities, and innumerable other local appellatives, many of which have never, that I know of, been accounted for : that it still partially continues as a language, in its dialects in the declining remains of it, dispersed among the Irish, in Basse Bretagne, St. Kilda, in Cantabria, and the mountains of Wales ; that much of it is still extant in the works of our earlier poets and historians, and much yet living upon the tongues of multitudes, *inter rura Brigantum*, in Cumberland, &c. unknown and unobserved. As I hope the succeeding exercises will make apparent, that the original of both the Latin and the Greek is, in a great measure, Celtic ; that Celtic which, polished by Greece, and refined by Rome, and which only, with dialectic difference, flowed from the lips of Virgil, and thundered from the mouth of Homer.

The design then of all, is to exhibit and illustrate these connexions.

AFTER having proceeded thus far, and so often reiterated *Celtæ* and *Celtic*, it is high time to come to an explication of these words, and enumerate the people to whom they have been usually applied. The *Celtæ* then were confessedly Scythians or Tatars, the posterity of Gomer, and agreeable to the name of their patriarch, called themselves in their own language, Cimmeri, Cummeri, or contractedly Cimbri ; and the Welch to this day call themselves Cummeri, whence Cumberland pointing out very lucidly their *extraction* by their *name*. But what becomes of *Celtæ* in all this ? and why were these Cimmeri

meri denominated Celtæ? As they were Tatars or Scythians, and both their name, country, and original, at first unknown; and it being observed by the people they invaded, that they were all or mostly horsemen, and of great celerity. The Greeks, almost the only historians of the earlier ages, very naturally distinguished these Cimmerians or Gomerians by the name of Κελτες, Celtæ, *i. e. light horsemen*. They made several very terrible irruptions into the fairest parts of Asia, and thence into Europe, and back again, like a retiring tide, under the conduct of Brennus, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand. Callimachus relates, that the original of the temple of Diana at Ephesus, was owing to a little statue of that goddess, which these Cimmerians erected in the hollow of a tree, while their armies and depredations, under *Lygdamis* their captain, wasted Asia. Their migrations were frequent and noted; for they, obliged by real or imaginary necessity, incited by avarice, or stimulated only by a spirit of war, became often vexatious to one another, and always formidable to their neighbours. They also in another prodigious swarm poured out of Tartary, about nine hundred and fifty years after the flood, and made another dreadful irruption, under *Alcon* their leader, into the greater Armenia, and in a little space made themselves masters of Pontus, Cappadocia, Phrygia, and the greater part of the lesser Asia, where, as in several other countries, continued a great many memorials of their name and conquests. But Phrygia seems to have been their principal residence, and there they have been most distinguished. They had various appellations imposed

upon them, as those of *Gigantes*, *Titanes*, both signifying sprung from the earth, in this referring to the obscurity of their origin. Of this eminent people was *Saturn*; he himself was a Cimmerian; and passed, one may believe, not unattended into Italy; upon some disagreement with *Jupiter*, his son. The body of these Cimmerians, or Celtæ, which is but an adventitious name, the time not ascertained, proceeded far into Europe, even to Britain and its islands, &c. And that the name of Cimmeri, or Cimbri, was also remembered in Gaul as well as Britain, is clear; for the soldier who was sent for the execution of *Maius* the consul, is by some historians called a Gaul, by others a Cimper; which two names, as is evident from hence, were esteemed synonymous, and indifferently applied to the same person. There is also the Cimbric, Chersonese, &c. But these Cimmerians scarcely advanced together, and at once, but gradually, and time after time established their settlements, where and as they could. Their government was the oldest known, *i. e.* it was patriarchal, and so remained in Scotland, 'till within our own memories. Afterwards there was an absolute coalition in many nations, of this people and their language; with those they conquered, and with the colonies from Greece, Tyre, Carthage, &c. and theirs. And all of them, a-while after this incorporation, are formed in history under the common name of Celtæ. The very same accident happened between the Saxons and the Britons, and also between the Scots and Picts in the North. It can scarcely be imagined, that the Saxons destroyed all the Britons that escaped not into Wales, or that the Scots extinguished all the race

race of the Picts that did not cross the seas. No; 'tis unlikely, 'tis impossible; these two nations united with the two subdued, and became one people, under the name of the most predominant. So it was with the Celtæ, when of themselves, or upon their incorporation with the conquered, they became populous and powerful, especially in Greece, their principal seat; colony peopled colony still farther and farther, 'till they, with the language they brought along with them from the East and Greece, &c. arrived in and about Britain, and whither else we can fix no bounds; as waves departing from some center, swell with a wider and a wider circumference, wave impelling wave, 'till at last their circles disappear.

The Greeks, the posterity of Javan, as is generally allowed, and as is plain from their name Touian and historical evidence, and by the connexions their language has with the Hebrew and Phœnician, &c. arrived at first from Asia, and colony after colony, peopled Peloponnesus, the islands of the Archipelago, and those of the Mediterranean; and there continued, with no considerable variation of language, but what was naturally made by time, and what is incident to all, 'till this inundation of these Cimmerians, which they called Celtæ. Particular appellations, indeed, were annexed to their tribes; but from this difference of names, in those tribes, we must not suspect them to be of different extraction, by no means; they were all but portions of the same vast body. Their dominions, after their union with the original Greeks, became very extensive; and all the north-west parts of Europe were from them called, by the Greeks, Celto-Scythia.

Bodin,

Bodin, 'tis true, has affirmed, that the name of Celtica was peculiar to Gaul; but he is a *writer* of very inconsiderable authority, and is learnedly confuted by Cluverius, who, I think, in his fourth chapter, shews that Celtica included Illyricum, Germany, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; and Mr. Irvin, a Scots gentleman of great abilities, asserts that the colonies of the Celtæ also covered Italy, the Alps, Theffaly, &c. And all this, I am induced to believe, may be satisfactorily proved; if by nothing else, yet by the very great consimilarity in their language, when carefully considered in comparison with one another; especially in many old local appellatives, which have certainly existed before commerce or intercourse could possibly be concerned in imposing them. But because I am unwilling to convert what is only meant as prefatory, into a Lexicon, I must supercede the proofs of this, or what I take to be such, 'till I come to treat of the words themselves. Should this be doubted or contested, and any objections, and those not apparently immaterial, arise or be imagined to arise, in opposition to any particular that has been advanced, I humbly apprehend that an accurate examination into this plan, will never contradict, but support every observation contained in these papers. But what will appear most decisive upon this head, is, that unquestionable remains of their *language* exist at this day, in countries where their *name* is entirely forgotten; and what is yet more convincing, tho' probably unsuspected, is, that a very great number of topical names, &c. are continually occurring where the Celtæ have penetrated, and been established from time immemorial, as English, Latin, and Greek, &c. which

which can never be investigated from any other original.

Add to this, that wherever history fails in accounting for the extraction of any people, or where it is manifestly mistaken, how can this extraction be more rationally inferred, and determined, or that mistake rectified, than from the analogy of languages? Or is not this alone sufficiently conclusive, if nothing else was left? Thus Cæsar, so conspicuous for either Minerva, and whose opinions will ever have their proper weight with the learned, asserts that the Britons were from Gaul; not so much from their vicinity to one another, as from the remarkable analogy of their tongue to the Gallics: and admit there was not a record left in the world, to prove the original of our American settlements, I would ask if their language itself, notwithstanding many words both now and formerly unknown in England, and adopted into it, was not sufficient to prove it? And must not a similitude as near, considering the very great distance of time, an extensive commerce, the admission of new colonies, the revolutions of kingdoms, and the natural inconstancy of languages, equally prove an alliance among those in question? The traces of the Celtic, notwithstanding the ruins consequent upon all these, have hitherto remained indelible. They almost perpetually arise in the general geography of all the west of Europe; and often in more confined, and topographical descriptions. Not a county in Britain, scarce any extent of sea or land from Kent to St. Kilda, wherein the most satisfactory evidences of this may not be found. The same congruity holds too in Gaul, Spain, Italy, &c. and

and a work of this kind begun with circumspection, and conducted with regularity, could not fail of throwing great light upon all the languages concerned, and upon the obscurity of thousands of local names, and in short seems to promise fair to contribute as a lamp to the elucidation of many dark antiquities.

The Greek and Hebrew then, &c. observable in our language, and not unnoticed by the learned, and found in recesses where they might lie but little expected, as will be shewn in the course of these remarks, was not imported by Phœnician merchants, and Greek traders only; but entered along with the earliest colonies from the East, into Britain; after each colony had protruded others thro' all the intermediate continent of which Britain probably was once a part. Not that the whole of a people entered into any long migration; I believe, never. The aged, the infirm, and the youth of either sex, incapable of engaging in war, or of enduring the fatigues of travel, of surmounting the opposition of mountains, and forests, and rivers, remained a feeble company behind; and certainly retained the same language their itinerant countrymen had carried with them, which sometimes was very far remote. Hence that almost identity of languages is sometimes found in places at a great distance from each other, and hence that agreement in many vocables between the Greek, and the Cambrian, and Irish Celtic. Nor is there so much inconsistency as has been imagined, in that immemorial tradition existent among the Welsh, that they were the descendants of the Greeks. That they came with any Brutus, is not only fabulous but ridiculous; but that they
are

are of Greek extraction, perhaps, is neither. The tradition is undoubtedly false with regard to the *person*, Brutus; but certainly real as to the *thing*, this Greek extraction. It may be objected, indeed, that this is only tradition: What else could it possibly be? Could they have history, annals, and inscriptions, before they had letters? Was there not also a period wherein Greece herself, afterwards so illustrious for arts, was destitute and ignorant of these? Could these then be expected in Britain, so far detached from the sources whence Greece drew all her science? No: memory, or some rugged uninscribed stones, in these obscure and early ages, was the sole register of facts, and tradition all their history.

In the subsequent specimens, I have been very prolix; but as the subject had been unattempted before, and seemed so repugnant to the general opinion, I supposed there was really some necessity for enlargement, that the connexions I had intimated might appear the more visible and striking, and leave the less of uncertainty upon the mind. And I humbly conceive, that the congruity among the languages induced here, is made as obvious as the nature of the thing is capable of; particularly regarding this distance of time, this imitation of kingdoms, times, and manners, and under such abilities as mine. I cannot but beg pardon, for some little oriental introductions in the word *Beer*; I would very gladly have superceded them, had I not believed it preferable to refer to the original, and to produce the evidences together and at once, that they might possess the force of union. I am

led to think, that a very little deliberation upon this subject, will be required to perceive the utility of it, and a small acquaintance with languages to be sensible of the pertinence of the comparisons. I imagine too, that to a moderate portion of letters and sagacity, it will soon be clear, that the Greek, the Latin, and the Celtic, considered and compared together, will abundantly dilucidate one another. And perhaps the *examples* to be hereafter produced, in support of this plan, will better evince the reasonableness of it, than whole *reams* employed in arguments.

N.B. That the examples to follow, are as much as possible fetched from the Irish; I industriously omitting the British, lest it should be thought, as I know it has been sometimes, that the Romans left us the words that bear any relation to the Latin, while this can never be objected to the Irish, since the Romans never set foot in Ireland. Pardon inaccuracies too, since I have had no assistance but memory.



EXAMPLES.



E X A M P L E S.

BEAGLES, a race of hounds, so named for being little; and perfectly agreeable to the primary signification of the Celtic *Pig*, i. e. *little*. The Greeks have anciently used this word too, and in the sense of *little*, of which they seem to have constituted their *πυγμαῖος*, i. e. a dwarf. It still subsists among the Irish, and still in that language conveys the idea of *little*; as, *Fir pig*, a little man; *Ban pig*, a little woman; *Beg aglach*, little fearing. It was common in Scotland, in the same acceptation also; for one of the *Hebrides* is named from this cubital people, *Dunie Begs* (see Mr. Irvin), and it yet exists in Scotland in the word *Phillibeg*, i. e. a little pettycoat. And we ourselves retain it in the provincial word *Peagles*, i. e. cowslips, a name imposed upon them of old, from the littleness of their flowers. And our northern word *Peggy*, is properly applicable to no female as a Christian name; but is merely an epithet of size, and a word of endearment only.

NID, nothing seems more suitable than this Celtic name for this river; which after running a considerable way from its foundation, again enters the earth by a wide and rocky cavern; then taking a subterraneous course of some miles, again emerges to the light, by two issues; whose waters are immediately united below. This word *Nid*, among the Celtæ, signified,

under, below, or covered; and so it does yet. The Irish Celtæ say, *Neth shin*, i. e. under a place; *Nes-sene*, i. e. a bird's-nest; and *nad*, a nest simply, where *t* is converted into *s*, as is common; so the Greek has γλῶττα or γλωττα; and so the Germans of their antient *Wasser*, have made *watter*, i. e. *water*. This word *Nid* is very diffused too; there is found Nithisdale, or Niddisdale, in Scotland; *Nid* near Knaresbrough, the seat of — Traps, Esq; both probably named from their having been formerly hid in the depth and obscurity of woods. *Nidum* is also found in Glamorganshire; there are the rivers, *Niderus* in Norway, and *Nid* even in Poland. It is part of the modern words, *beneath*, *nether*, and *Netherlands*. This *neath* was formerly written *nead*; for an epitaph, transcribed from a monumental stone at Kirkley's, by Dr. Gale, has

“Undernead this little steane.”

Where the former part of the word *under*, is only explicatory of the latter part *nead*. This signification of *nid*, leads to the true and original meaning of Shakespear's *niding*, i. e. a person that hides himself: Mr. Johnson interprets it, a *coward*, but that is only its secondary signification, and that but true sometimes; for a person does not always conceal himself thro' fear. It appears to be the radical of the Latin *Nidus*, *nidifico*, *nidulor*, *nidificatio*; and also of the Greek νεοσός, in the Attic νεοττος, *pullus avium*, &c. which all know to be very well *hidden*; and they bore this Greek name, not because they were young, but because they were *hidden*. So

νεοσσία,

veortia, or *veortia*, *nidus*, &c. whence our word *Nests*.

VIR, this word is and that precisely enough the celtic *Fir*; its very great antiquity, and use with the *Celtæ*, appears in the Irish regal proper name *Firgus*, as first and second; in our modern surname *Ferguson*: Also in the word *Firbolgs* (i. e. *virī Belgici*) by which the old Irish called a colony of the *Belgæ*, which settled amongst them, And of this word *Bolgs*, *Cæsar*, and the Romans form'd the Latin *Belgæ*, which indeed imports the same, and is the same word with the Greek *Pelasgi*, either from their coming by sea, or from their vicinity to it. *Fir* in most words, into whose composition it enters, implies something of ability, and strength; as in the Irish *Fertambull*, i. e. a man of an able body, and in the Latin, *fortis*, *virtus*, &c. neither was it unfrequent in Gaul; it composes a part of *Cæsar's Vercingetorix*, *Viridomarus*, &c. *Cæs. Com. l. 7. &c.* The German *Celtæ* likewise used it, for it exists yet with them in the compound word *Werewolf*. This *wer*, in the Latin sense of *vir*, appears also among the Anglo-Saxons; for in the Saxon *Pentateuch* of *Ælfric*, the monk, publish'd at Oxford, is, "And God made them *þæjman*, i. e. male, &c. The word man, homo, antiently, as in our modern translation of this place, included both sexes; and the Saxons prefixed *þær*, to man, to determine the sex.

MAGISTER; how natural, easy, and lucid does its original appear from the Celtic *maighis*, whence the Latin *magnus*, and Greek *μεγας*, great, and *Tor*, dominus; nor has the first of these entirely

firely left us ; it remains in the northern obsolete word *mickle*, *much*, or *great* ; and in Micklegate, a large street in York. And *meg*, in many places is yet commonly heard, and ever ludicrously applied to a very tall woman ; 'tis also used for a huge stone in an erect position. Mr. Cambden, I think, in Cumberland, takes notice of a tall upright stone there, called *Longmeg*. And the great cannon in Scotland, taken at Mons, the the Scots call Mons *Meg*. It seems a radical used in common by many of the Celtic nations, each agreeable to its dialect. And *tor* is the Greek and Latin *τυραννίς*, and Tyrannus.

BEER, this word has been one oriental name for a *well* or *water* ; and very probably has been transmitted along with the earliest settlements into Europe. It is found still in this island, both in its primary and translated signification ; *i. e.* for *water*, and for *beer*. It is read Gen xxix. 2, &c. וַיֵּרָא וַחֲזָא, Va yare ve hinneh Beer ; and in the Chaldee וַיֵּרָא וַחֲזָא, Va chaza ve ha Bera, *i. e.* “ *He looked, and behold, a well.*” Water was the first beveredge of mankind ; and was, as was undoubtedly natural, applied to other drinkables, as they were invented : the great simplicity of antient languages, and times, not directly affording any other than *Beer*. So we apply the word wine, once, perhaps, peculiar to the juice of the grape, to liquids extracted from many other fruits, ; as gooseberries, Elderberries, &c. and here, tho’ the copiousness of modern languages distinguishes these, which the poverty of the antients did not, or not early ; yet they retain the name of wine still. Hence *Beer*, tho’ originally a word for *water*, became expressive of
some

some liquors drawn from vegetables, because they became, like water, a beverage. In the very same manner the Celtic *Isca*, originally signifying *water*, was imposed on other liquids; there being at first no other, whereby readily to express them *isca*, water: so *whisky*, a liquor used in Scotland, is nothing but a corruption of this antient *isca*, water; yet it is not simply water. *Isca* too is found in Ireland, in the word *Uisquebagh*, to which time has superadded the epithet *bagh*, i. e. strong, by way of distinction from common water.

Beer yet continues in its primary acceptation of a rivulet from a spring, or water simply, in the recesses of this county, but little frequented; and in Scotland for water itself. For to these places colonies and conquests have carried but few innovations; for words annexed to things of such frequent use, as *water*, *fire*, &c. heard mentioned every day for years, must necessarily have maintained their ground long, and resisted the shocks of time better than those but seldom used, and as seldom named. Hence about Roxborough, it is usual to ask, "Have you any Burn?" i. e. water simply, meaning in the house; where the final *n* only terminates the word after the taste and genius of the German, and alters nothing.

In Netherdale are two torrents, i. e. Bierbeck, and Doubergil, descending from the Moors; in the first of these, the latter syllable *beck* is only put as explanatory, and as the sense of the prior syllable Beer, water, or a rivulet; 'tis the same in another torrent in Cumberland near *Longtown*, called Bierburn, where *burn*, in like manner explains

plains *Bier*. In Doubergil, the last syllable **gil*, an old Irish word for water, is only affixed to explain *ber*, the syllable immediately preceding it: and *Dou*, in the Celtic, implies *black*, a colour proper to this torrent, and contracted from its passage thro' peat earth, and morasses, and even so low as our own times, this affixing a word explaining the foregoing continues; as *Halfhaugh-hill*, at Ripon, *Michaelhaughhill* near that town, where *hill*, a more modern word, is only explanatory of *haugh*, or *bow*, a more antient one for the very same thing.

And to show *Ber*, *Bier*, &c. is not confined to these retirements, no, nor to Britain; there is the *Ver* a rivulet, near St. Albans, of which the Romans formed their *Verolanium*; we have more streams possessed of this name also. There is the *Var* too in France, the *Iberus* in Spain, and the *Tiber* in Italy, all including this Beer in their names. Where, by the way, *Ti* in the Celtic did, and does at this day in St. Kilda, signify *great*, and *ber* is water, or a river; the whole then will be, the *Great River*: a name that sufficiently distinguishes it there, as it is far the greatest river in that part of Italy. I cannot recollect whether *Ber* for water is in the British, but I suspect it has; however the Britons used *Aber* for the mouth of a river, except it may be thought the latin *Aperio*. But the Irish retain *Ber* still for water; as, *Inbber slaing*, a river by Wexford; *Inbber dombnoin* in Connacht, i. e. the deep river,

* It is the Hebrew גל *gel*, i. e. unda, from rolling and rapidity of most torrents; it remains in the English also.

dombnoin importing *deep*. Neither is the Latin destitute of this *ber* in the signification of water too, for of this seems formed the Roman *imber*; and it is also the Greek *ὕδωρ*, *i. e.* *veros*, which last is the modern English *wet*.

AN APPLE-TREE, *i. e.* Apollo's tree. But it may at first be thought, what reference this can have to Apollo; that is yet to appear. This name in the Danish is, I think, *able træ*. The Saxon Pentateuch, before referred to, if I remember right has *arel*, the Irish *abal*, and the Welsh a consonant word, whose orthography I forget. Other original of the name, tho' sought for, I have no where found; but it is certainly very antient, as antient as heathenism, and the worship of Apollo, from whom it was, tho' not always, distinguished by this name. For it was once one of the symbols of that god, and dedicated to his deity, and hence with some inconsiderable variation in different countries, delivered down to us. The name was probably introduced hither by very early colonies, and continued its name, when the custom that gave it rise, was forgotten. And that this is its original, will be easily deducible from a little reflexion on the proofs in support of it. The prizes in the sacred games were the olive crown, apples, parsley, and the pine. Lucian, in his book of games, affirms apples to have been the reward in the sacred games of Apollo. And Curtius of gardens, asserts the same thing. It appears also that the Apple-tree was consecrated to Apollo, before the laurel: for both Pindar and Callimachus observe, that Apollo put not on the laurel, till after his conquest of the Python; and

K he

he appropriated it to himself, on account of his passion for Daphne. The victors wreath at first, was a bough with its apples hanging on it, sometimes along with a branch of laurel, and these antiquity united together in the Pythian games.

HAMILTON, (or more properly Hamildun) hill, a name of very remote antiquity, and imposed upon several hills in this county, and it occurs too in several other places. I am not able to recollect precisely, if it remains in the Welsh; but if it does not, 'tis probable that it has once existed in it. This name is derived, not from the elevation of these hills, but from their figure to the eye; which is, as far as I have had opportunity to remark or inform myself, that of half a globe with its convexity upwards; which has a gradual descent like them, from its summit every way. Now any hill or mountain of such a form, the Irish to this time call *himmel*, and they imposed this name immediately from their resemblance to the appearance of the Heavens, consider'd as to their convexity. And that they were consider'd thus, is plain from Ovid's remark, "*Convexaque Cœli.*" And which from our zenith, seem to decline on every side till terminated by the horizon. The Latins call'd Heaven *Cælum* from *κοῖλον*, i. e. the *hollow*, considering it as a concave. But the Teutonic in *himmel* and *hemel* has looked upon them as a *covering*, and the Germans yet call a bedsteeper *himmel*, from its *covering* the *bed*, as they call the Heavens *himmel* from their *covering* the *earth*. And that antiquity looked upon them as a *covering* also, is evident from *Cælum quod omnia tegit*. This initial *him* or *hem* in *himmel*,

mel, is the old Saxon *belm*,* only the liquid *l* is dropt, as with us in walk, talk, &c. first in pronunciation, as with us; after in orthography, as with them. And this word *belm*, and all its relations, ever imply *covering*; hence *helmet*, to cover the head; *home*, to cover a family, &c. and in the rura of this county, they commonly call a little *shed*, wherein are put instruments of husbandry, a *belm*. So pease *bame*, and house regard the very same thing, implying covering; and so does a *sheep cote*, a cottage and cote, our upper garment, which are from the British *coed*, a wood, the most antient *covering*.

The final *el* in *himmel*, is the radical of the Latin *altus*, just as the Celtic *ard*, high, is that of the Latin *arduus*. *Himmel* then signifies, the *lofty covering*. The syllable *don* or *dun*, mons that concludes *hamildun*, is so notorious, that it wants no illustration; hence the downs, and the hills in Surrey; and hence *Lugdunum Bataavorum*, &c. &c. but here one may observe, that *himmel* was not a name applied to hills, as to any *covering*, but only as they were thought to resemble the appearance of the sky, which is so.

The hills called *Hamilton* are that, where are the races near *Gormire*; that near *Kirkbymalzeard*; one near *Tadcaster*, another towards *Kendal*.

EBORACUM : if it is evident, as I conclude it is, that *Ber*, or *Ver*, originally signifying a well, was

* If this Saxon *belm* is not the Hebrew שֶׁלֶם *shell*, the skins of beasts, which were the antient *covering* of mankind, I know not whence it is.

afterwards applied to the stream usually flowing from it, it seems to me to enter into the composition of Eboracum. *Bor*, here really appears no more than the antient *ber*, or *bir*, so generally used among the Celtæ, and that exility of sound in the *e* or *i*, a Roman ear, or some peculiarity of dialect, might easily change into an *o*. For the Romans, I believe, seldom, if ever, absolutely altered the antient names of people, cities, rivers, &c. but often strip'd them of some barbarities, smoothed their asperities, and gave them a more harmonious pronunciation. The initial letter *e* is a Celtic article, and appears among the Celtæ, situated at a great distance from one another, with no material variation; as the *Iberus* in Spain, *Isurium* with us, &c.

The Brigantes were also called Wicci, from their being collected in little villages, and hence *Wic* is a very usual termination in many of them. *Ac* in Eboracum, seems nothing but this Celtic *nic*, *vic*, *wic*, or *vig*; which is probably the radix of the Latin *Vicus*, *viculus*, &c. and not differenced but by the termination, which means nothing. It is very likely the Greek $\omega\gamma\omega$ also; for the people of the North have sometimes pronounced ω as a *W*, which is a letter particular to the north. And formerly here, as among the Romans of old, the articulation, as well as orthography of *u* and *v* was as little distinguished as observed. For the Romans said, and writ either *sylvæ* or *sylvæ*: and yet in Surrey, the populace never do, or scarcely can pronounce *v*, but constantly substitute for it *u* or *w*, saying *uinegar* or *winegar* for *vinegar*; pronouncing *v*, as we do the Greek ν . This *wic* was so common among the Anglo-Saxons, that

that instances would be needless and tedious ; and this was from very antient usage ; for in the Feroes, so far detached from the continent, and who maintained little or no commerce with strangers, we find, Boardeviig, joteviig, Qualviig, &c. The first appropriation of *vig* or *vic* seems to have been to places upon the sea shore, and banks of rivers, as in Eboracum, &c. but in length of time it became applicable to places near neither. *Wic* has spread far and wide : it occurs in Germany, and is met with in the Iberian *Vigo* too. And the Romans themselves used *c*, and *g*, either promiscuously or successively, as appears from the inscription upon the Duilian pillar, where is read *pucnando* for *pugnando*. The final *um* is nothing but a termination suiting the genius of the Latin.

T H E

THE
MEL SUPPER,
AND
Shouting the CHURN.

THESE rural entertainments and usages were formerly more general all over England, than they are at present; being become by time, necessity, or avarice, complex, confined, and altered. They are commonly insisted upon by the reapers as customary things, and a part of their due for the toils of harvest, and complied with by their masters perhaps more through regards of interest, than inclination: For should they refuse them the pleasures of this much expected time, this festal night, the youth especially, of both sexes, would decline serving them for the future, and employ their labours for others, who would promise them the rustic joys of the harvest supper, mirth, and music, dance, and song.

These feasts appear to be the relicts of Pagan ceremonies, or of Judaism, it is hard to say whether, and carry in them more meaning, and are of far higher antiquity than is generally apprehended. It is true, the subject is more *curious* than *important*, and, I believe altogether untouched;

untouched ; and as it seems to be little understood, has been as little adverted to. I do not remember it to have been so much as the subject of a conversation. Let us make then a little excursion into this field, for the same reason men sometimes take a walk.

Its traces are discoverable at a very great distance of time from ours, nay, seem as old as a sense of joy for the benefit of plentiful harvests, and human gratitude to the eternal Creator for his munificence to men.

We hear it under various names in different counties, and often in the same county ; as, *melsupper, churn supper, harvest supper, harvest home, feast of ingathering, &c.* And perhaps this feast had been long observed, and by different tribes of people, before it became preceptive with the Jews. However, let that be as it will, the custom very lucidly appears from the following passages of S. S. Exod. xxiii. 16. ותנו חקציר בבגדו מעשיף אשר תזרע בשדה. *Ve chag haketser beure maosheca asher tizra bashadeh, i. e. And the feast of harvest, the first fruits of thy labours, which thou hast sown in the field.* And its institution as a sacred right is commanded, Levit. xxiii. 39. בת תבואת הארץ תחזו את ה' יהוה. באספכם. *Beasaphkem eth tebueth harets tachaggueth chag Yehovah, i. e. When ye have gathered in the fruit of the land, ye shall keep a feast to the Lord.*

The Jews then, as is evident from hence, celebrated the feast of harvest, and that by precept ; and though no vestiges of any such feast either are, or can be produced before these, yet the oblation of the Primitiæ, of which this feast was a consequence, is met with prior to this ;

this; for Gen. iv. 3: we find, that מנחה ליהוה קן שפרי האדמה Cain miphere hadamah minchah la Yehovah, *i. e. Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering to the Lord.*

Yet the offering of the first fruits, it may well be supposed, was not peculiar to the Jews, either at the time of, or after its establishment by their legislator; neither the feast in consequence of it. Many other nations, either in imitation of the Jews, or rather by tradition from their several patriarchs, observed the rite of offering their Primitiæ, and of solemnizing a festival after it, in religious acknowledgment for the blessing of harvest, though that acknowledgment was ignorantly misapplied, in being directed to a secondary, not the primary fountain of this benefit, namely to Apollo, or the sun.

For Callimachus affirms, that these Primitiæ were sent by the people of every nation to the temple of Apollo in Delos, the most distant that enjoyed the happiness of corn and harvest, even by the Hyperboreans in particular, hymn to Apol. Οἱ μέγιστοι καλαμῆν τε καὶ ἱερά δαγμάτα πρῶτοι ἀσπαχῶν, i. e. “Bring the sacred sheafs, “and the mystic offerings.”

Herodotus also mentions this annual custom of the Hyperboreans, remarking, that those of Delos talk of ἱερά ενδεδεμένα ἐν καλαμῇ πυρῶν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων, i. e. "Holy things tied up in a sheaf of wheat conveyed from the Hyperbo- reans." And the Jews by command of their law offered also a *sheaf*, Lev. xxiii. 10. the original has וְהִנָּחֵם אֶת עֹמֶר רֵאשִׁית קִצְרֵם אֲלֻכְדֵן וְקִצְרֵם אֶת קִצִּירָהּ Ukets artem eth ketfirah va hacatem eth omer reshith ketsircem el ha cohen.

i. e. And shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the first fruits of your harvest unto the priest.

This is not introduced in proof of any feast observed by the people, who had harvests, but to show the universality of the custom of offering the Primitiæ, which preceded this feast. But yet it may be looked upon as equivalent to a proof, for as the offering and the feast appear to have been always and intimately connected in countries affording records, so it is more than probable, they were connected too in countries, who had none, or none that ever survived to our times. An entertainment and gait were still the concomitants of these rites, which with the vulgar, one may pretty truly suppose, were esteemed the most acceptable and material part of them, and a great reason of their having subsisted through such a length of ages, when both the populace, and many of the learned too, have lost sight of the object to which they had been originally directed. This, among many other ceremonies of the heathen worship, became disused in some places, and retained in others, but continued still declining, after the promulgation of the gospel. In short, there seems great reason to conclude, that this feast, which was once sacred to Apollo, was constantly maintained, when a far less valuable circumstance, *i. e. shouting the churn*, is observed to this day by the reapers, and from so old an æra; for we read of this acclamation, Isa. xvi. 9. *כי על קצוף ועל קצירך הודד נפל* *Ci al kitsich ve al kitserach ha yadid naphal*, *i. e. For the shouting for thy summer fruits, and for thy harvest is fallen.*
And

And again, ver. 10. ירנן לא ירעע הידד השכתי לא
 ובכר ט"ס לא Ubaccramim lo yerunnah lo yirsa
 ha yadad hishcati lo, i. e. *And in the vineyards
 there shall be no singing, their shouting shall be no
 shouting.*

Hence then, -or from some of the Phoenician colonies is our traditionary *shouting the churn*. But it seems these orientals shouted both for joy of their harvest of grapes, and of corn. We have no quantity of the first to occasion so much of joy, as does our plenty of the last; and I do not remember to have heard whether their vintages abroad are attended with this custom.

Bread or cakes composed part of the Hebrew offering, Levit. xxiii. 13; and a cake thrown upon the head of the victim, was also part of the Greek offering to Apollo (see Hom. Il. α) whose worship was formerly celebrated in Britain, where the *May pole* yet continues one remain of it. This they adorned with garlands on May day, to welcome the approach of Apollo, or the sun towards the north, and to signify that those flowers were the product of his presence and influence. But upon the progress of Christianity, as was observed above, Apollo lost his divinity again, and the adoration of his deity subsided by degrees. Yet so permanent is custom, that this rite of the harvest supper, together with that of the *May pole* (of which last see Voss. de orig. & prog. Idolatr. l. 2.) have been preserved in Britain; and what had been antiently offered to the god, the reapers as prudently eat up themselves.

At last the use of the meal of new corn was neglected, and the supper, so far as meal was

concerned, was made indifferently of old or new corn, as was most agreeable to the founder.

And here the usage itself accounts for the name of Melsupper (where *mel* signifies *meal*, or else the instrument called with us a *mell*, wherewith antiquity reduced their corn to meal in a mortar, which still amounts to the same thing) for provisions of *meal*, or of corn in furmity, &c. composed by far the greatest part in these elder and country entertainments, perfectly conformable to the simplicity of those times, places, and persons, however meanly they may now be looked upon. And as the harvest was *last* concluded with several preparations of *meal*, or brought to be ready for the *mell*, this term became, in a translated signification, to mean the *last* of other things; as, when a horse comes last in the race, they often say in the north, *he has got the mell*.

All the other names of this country festivity sufficiently explain themselves, except *Churn-supper*, and this is entirely different from Melsupper; but they generally happen so near together, that they are frequently confounded. The Churnsupper was always provided when all was shorn, but the Melsupper after all was got in. And it was called the Churnsupper, because from immemorial times, it was customary to produce in a churn a great quantity of cream, and to circulate it by dishes to each of the rustic company, to be eaten with bread. And here sometimes very extraordinary executions have been done upon cream.

And though this custom has been disused in many places, and agreeably commuted for by *gle*, yet it survives still, and that about Whitby
and

and Scarborough in the east, and round about Gisburn, &c. in Craven in the west. But perhaps a century or two more will put an end to it, and both the *thing* and name shall die. Vicarious ale is now more approved, and the *tan-kard* almost every where politely preferred to the *churn*.

This churn (in our provincial pronunciation *kem*) is the Hebrew קֶרֶן *kem* or *keren*, from its being circular, like most horns: and it is the Latin *corona*, named so either from its radii, resembling horns, as on some very antient coins, or from its incircling the head; so a ring of people is called *corona*. Also the Celtic *ko-ren*, *keren* or *corn*, which continues according to its old pronunciation in Cornwall, &c. and our modern word *horn* is no more than this; the antient hard sound of *k* in *corn* being softened into the aspirate *h*, as has been done in numberless instances. The Irish *Celtæ* also call a round stone clogh *crene*, where the variation is merely dialectic. Hence too our *crane* berries, i. e. *round* berries, from this celtic adjective *crene*, round.

To Mr. ETHERINGTON, Bookseller, in
Coney-street.

S I R,

THE very humble opinion I ever entertain-
ed of any thing I wrote, prevented my
retaining any copies; there remains an elegy on
Sir John Armitage, who fell at St. Cas: if I
can possibly recover it, it shall come accompani-
ed with a transcript of some of the papers you
procured, and the rest shall follow as speedily as
I can write them; which indeed, if you had not
had the curiosity to desire, I could not have had
the assurance to offer; scarce believing I, who
was hardly taught to read, have any abilities to
write.

I am, SIR,

With much gratitude for your kindness,

And with all possible respect,

Your most humble,

Most obliged servant,

E. Aram.

P. S. I will order to you Mr. Recorder's letter, which
I mentioned; from which you may be able to
judge of my affair, in which you were pleased to
say you would serve me: I have but one question
to ask, which my next shall bear to you.



A N
E L E G Y

On the Death of

Sir JOHN ARMITAGE, Bart.

Who died gloriously in the Service of his Country.

Humbly inscribed

*To the Remains of that ancient and respectable
Family.*

STRIKE, strike the bosom, touch the vocal
string,

Bring funeral eugh, the funeral cypress bring;
The strain be mournful; let the feet move slow;
The numbers ling'ring with their weight of woe.

Not with more grief great Maro's breast did
swell,

When glorious with his legions Varus fell;

Not Troy felt more resentment, more of pain,

When Troy beheld her matchless Hector slain;

Than feels thy country. Tell us, was thy fate

Or more illustrious, or unfortunate?

Thy arms almost alone the foes impeach;

Thou stoodst like Scæva in the dang'rous breach.

Slain, but not vanquish'd; fallen, but not fled;

That ground thou kept alive, thou kept when

dead.

Hast

Hast thou obtain'd thy laurels with the pall?
 Didst thou more bravely dare, or greatly fall?
 Calder with sadder murmurs rolls his floods,
 And deeper gloom invests thy Kirkley's woods.
 France too deplores thee little less than we;
 And Britain's genius gave a sigh for thee.

What tho' no wife's, tho' no fond mother's eyes
 Grow dim with grief, whose transports pierce the
 skies;

What tho' no pomp, no pious dirge, no friend
 Wait thee with tears, nor solemn priest attend;
 O yet be happy, thy sad sisters here,
 Bewail thy loss with sorrows too sincere;
 And falls in silence the fraternal tear. }
 Sleep, much lamented; while thy country pays,
 Mingled with sighs, the tribute of her praise.

Suppress those sighs, and wipe the humid eye;
 Her sons nor fall in vain, nor unreveng'd shall
 die.

When her loud thunders reach the hostile shore,
 Swift as the winds, and like the billows roar,
 What vigils must repentant Gallia keep?
 What hostile eyes must close, what fair ones weep?

Remorseless war, how fatal to the brave!
 Wild as rough seas, voracious as the grave.
 Blind, when thou strikes; deaf, when distress
 complains;
 What tears can whiten thy empurpl'd stains?

Waste

Waste waits thy steps, as southern breezes
 showers ;
 Like floods thou rages, and like floods devour.
 Fear flies before thee, thou relentless hears
 The virgin's pray'r, and sees the mother's tears.
 Sink down, be chain'd, thrice execrable war,
 Extinct thy *torch*, or *flame* from Britain far.

Breathe we where blifs in flow'ry vales is found ;
 Soft spring, glow near me ; rural sweets, be
 round.

Perennial waters, which the rock distills ;
 The shaded villa, and the sunny hills ;
 Long wand'ring shores, the voice of falling
 floods ;
 The *gale* of odours, and the *night* of woods.

These lost to thee, for these accept of fame ;
 Thy Kirkley's smiles, she yet can boast the name.
 Rank'd with the Great, thy fragrant name shall
 be ;
 Rome had her *Decius*, the Brigantes *Thee*.





Insonuère cavæ gemitumque dedére Cavernæ. VIRG.

FOR these dread walls, sad sorrow's dark domain,
 For cells resounding with the voice of pain;
 Where fear, pale pow'r, his dreary mansion keeps,
 And grief unpity'd hangs her head and weeps;
 What muse would leave her springs and myrtle shades,
 The groves of Pindus and th' Aonian glades?
 The hallow'd pines that nod on Idas' brow,
 And fens that spread eternal May below?
 Or comes the nymph, she soon averts her eyes,
 And but bestows one transient look, and flies.
 In vain would I ascend, too weak my wings;
 In vain the plectrum strikes the sleeping strings;
 They wake no more. The fire that blaz'd, but glows;
 The muse, the lyre, and all are mute—but foes.
 While my small barque, by fable tempests tost,
 Lies wreck'd on an inhospitable coast;
 Bleak rocks the place, and clouds the skies in-fold;
 Storms follow storms, and seas on seas are roll'd.
 Yet, if the fates be kind, and you, this lay,
 Daughters of Isis*, with a smile survey;

* The Ouse, that runs thro' York.

If while you gild the moments as they rise,
 Suppliant I make your soft regards my prize ;
 Farewel, Pyrene, once so lov'd ; and you
 Pierian sisters, tuneful maids, adieu :
 Forever I your feeble aid decline ;
 Come, lucid stars, fair northern lights, be mine.
 Whose *graces* lull life's cares, or *wit* removes ;
 Whose virtues charm me, and whose sense im-
 proves.

From you springs each sweet hope, each gleam
 of joy ;
 Each dearer name, and every social tie.
 You, my bright subject all to transport turns ;
 My breast with more than mortal ardor burns.

Rapt into years to come, the muses' eyes,
 Behold your future sons illustrious rise ;
 Patriots and chiefs, renown'd for war and laws,
 Warm in their country's and in virtue's cause.
 When time another crop of foes shall bear,
 Another Th-rnt-n shall in arms appear ;
 Another C-mb-rl-d shall rise, and save ;
 His soul as honest, and his heart as brave.
 Some Sl-ngsb- * curb again rebellious rage,
 Some Ing-lb- † again his prince's ear engage.
 Mahon once more shall British troops receive,
 What St-nh-p won, a St-nh-p shall retrieve.

* A fine gentleman of this family, in arms for the king,
 fell at Marston-Moor.

† See Chauncy's Hertfordshire, in St. Albans, where lies
 a worthy baronet of this family.

Some harp for Coptgraves' hapless youth * be
strung,

And Albion's rocks repeat what *Deering* sung.

Some future Bard in R-ndh-lls shall commend

The breast humane, the scholar, and the friend.

Lamhill † shall bid its fadeless laurels grow,

To shade some N-rt-n's, Garth's, or Plaxton's
Brow.

The sacred page some Walton shall review,

Some Wanley clear the runic line anew.

The trumpets sound shall die, and discord cease,

Thou, Britain, flourish in the arts of peace.

Fairest of Ocean's daughters, and his pride,

Safe in thy oaks, with Neptune on thy side;

Who, fond to bless thee, with his Thames has
crown'd;

And, pleas'd to guard thee, pours his seas a-
round.

The wounds of war thy commerce soon shall
cure,

That peace thy fleets command, thy Pitt assure.

Come, gentle peace, propitious goddess come,

Thy olive bring; let all, but mirth, be dumb.

* A young gentleman of great abilities, of great hopes,
and once my friend, who dy'd in the expedition to Cartha-
gena.

† A seat of the old and worthy family of the Beck-
withs.

What blessings reach us, which thou dost not
give?

Thou fled, is it to suffer or to live?

Thy sweet recess, thy happy ports to gain,
Plow'd is the verdant, plow'd the wat'ry plain.

For thee, this swelters under Lybia's suns;

That fails and shivers where the Volga runs.

To thy soft arms thro' death itself we flee,

Battles, and camps, and fields, and victory,

Are but the rugged steps that lead to thee.

For thee kind showers distil, the meads to chear,

Or bend in old Isurium's fields the ear;

For thee the streams make gay the banks they
lave;

The soft breeze whispers, and the green woods
wave.

All these I see, as sailors see the shore;

And sing, secluded, scenes I tread no more.

Nor stars, nor chearful suns, I now behold;

Languid with want, and pale with polar cold.

Where smiles Elyzium? where those happier
skies,

Where, after death, superior virtue flies?

Where wrongs, nor night, nor torments they de-
plore;

The sigh forgotten, and the tear no more.

What passage to the blissful meadows guides?

What horrors guard it, or what covert hides?

N

Thus

Thus to the Getae, in a barb'rous throng,
The last sad numbers flow'd from Naso's tongue.
The Thracian thus, whose harp bewail'd his
wife,

Torn by the mad Bacchantes, lost his life:
The strains that Hell had pleas'd, they disre-
gard;

And snatch'd the life that foster Pluto spar'd.

THE END.

